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WASHINGTON, AUGUST 28, 1848.

For the National Era. STRAY LEAVES MARGARET SMITH'S DIARY

IN THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[CONTINUED.]

November ye 28th, 1678 .- Leonard hath left Mr. Ward, and given up the thought of fitting for the ministry. This will be a heavie blow to his friends in England. He tells me that Mr. Ward spake angrilie to him after I left, but that, when he came to part with him, the old man wept over him, and prayed that the Lord would enable him to see his error, and preserve him from the consequences thereof. I have discoursed my brother touching his future course of life, and he tells me he shall start in a day or two to visit the Rhode Island, where he hath an acquaintance, one Mr. Easton, formerly of Newbury. His design is to purchase a small plantation there, and betake himself to farming, of the which he hath some little knowledge, believing that he can be as hap-

py and doe as much good to his fellow-creature

n that employment as in any other. Here Cousin Rebecca, who was by, looking up with that sweet archness which doth so well be come her, queried with him whether he did think to live alone on his plantation like a hermit, or whether he had not his eye upon a certain fairhaired young woman, as suitable to keep him companie. Whereat he seemed a little disturbed but she bade him not think her against his prospect, for she had known for some weeks that he lid favor the young Brewster woman, who, setbrother, which, in all respects save the one she had spoken of, she could approve with all her heart. Leonard goes back with us to-morrow to Newbury, see I shall have a chance of knowing how matters stand with him. The thought of his marrying a Quaker would have been exceedingly grievous to me a few months ago; but this Margaret Brewster hath greatlie won upon me by her beautie, gentleness, and her goodness of heart and, besides, I know that she is much esteemed

by the best sort of people in her neighborhood. Doct. Thompson left this morning, but his friend Doctor Clark goes with us to Newbury. Rebecca found in her work-basket, after he had gone, some verses, which amused us not a little, and which I here copie:

Gone hath the Spring, with all its flowers, And gone the Summer's pomp and showe, And Autuwn in his leafless bowers

beaver-skins and corn for it? Tell me that, Cap-

outward things, but by reason of what she did discern of an innocent and pure inward life in his conversation and deportment. She had earnestly sank, drew up the poor man's boat, safe and whole, sought to conform her conduct, in this as in all respected my caution touching those in authoritie, she knew not what the Lord might require of her, and she could only leave all in His hands, being resigned even to deny herself of the sweet solace of human affection, and to take up the solace of the proposed solace of human affection, and to take up the solace of human affection and the factory girls making the solace and

look and voice, that I was greatly moved, and, Wenham, and as good and as pious a saint as pressing her in my arms, I kissed her, and bade there was out of Heaven; and it did ill become a her look upon me as her dear sister.

hath returned from the Eastward. He said Re- deserts if the bears did eat him before he got to becca Rawson had just told him how matters Boston. As it was quite clear that the woman stood with Leonard, and that he was greatlie re- herself had had a taste of the mug, we left them joiced to hear of his prospect. He had known and rode on, she fairly scolding us out of hearing. Margaret Brewster from a child, and there was When we got home, we found Cousin Rebecca. scarce her equal in these parts for sweetness of whom we did leave ill with a cold, much better in temper and loveliness of person and spirit; and, health, sitting up and awaiting us. were she ten times a Quaker, he was free to say this in her behalf. I am more and more confirmed in the belief that Leonard hath not done un- SPEECHES AT THE BUFFALO CONwisely in this matter, and doe cheerfully accept of his choice, believing it to be in the ordering of Him who doeth all things well.

Boston, January ye 16th, 1679 .- Have just got back from Reading, a small town ten or twelve miles out of Boston, whither I went in the companie of Uncle and Aunt Rawson, and manie others, to attend the ordination of Mr. Brock, in the place of the worthy Mr. Hough, latelie deceased. The weather being clear, and the travelling good, a great concourse of people got together. We stopped at the ordinary, which we found well nigh filled, but Uncle, by dint of scoldinary deceased in Congress and Lyapped to the state of the Sth of August, two years ago, was the advent of the Wilmot Proviso upon the three million bill. I mention the fact because I was then honored with a seat in Congress and Lyapped to the state of the Sth of August, two years ago, was the advent of the Wilmot Proviso upon the three million bill. I mention the fact because I was then honored with a seat in Congress and I was the state. ing and coaxing, got a small room for Aunt and myself, with clean bedde, which was more than we was about nine or ten o'clock at night, when all ting aside her enthusiastic notions of religion, was worthy of anie man's love; and turning to me, she begged of me to look at the matter as she did, and not set myself against the choice of my wich heing among them) were alreadic together. did, and not set myself against the choice of my wich, being among them,) were alreadic together wich, being among them,) were alreadie together at the house of one of the Deacons. It was quite a sight the next morning to see the people coming in from the neighboring towns, and to note their odd dresses, which were indeed of all kinds, from silks and velvets to coarsest homespun woollens, dyed with hemlock, or oylnut bark, and fitting soe ill that, if they had all cast their clothes into a been and then each spatched up whetseeven estates and part of the could get "no extension of slavery" in, it would be still better. If that could be the law, he would regard all the blood and money spent as fully and adequately

> young men came with their sisters or their sweetyoung men came with their sisters or their sweet-found in its favor. Then it was amusing to look hearts riding behind them on pillions; and the around upon the Southern faces, and see the disordinary and all the houses about were soon may and disappointment there! An individual from South Carolina came to me—[A voice. His name?]—a Mr. Woodward, and asked me if I should vote for the bill; if so, I should overturn the Constitution! I told him that, in my opinion, the line was a good to see the second and asked the constitution! I told him that, in my opinion, the Union was of a great deal more importance.

Sam escaped without farther punishment than a grave admonition to behave more reverently for the future. Mr. Phillips, seeing some of his young people in the crowd, did sharply rebuke them for their follie, at which they were not a little abashed.

The inn being greatlie crowded, and not a little abashed.

The inn being greatlie crowded, and not a little noisie, we were not unwilling to accept the invitation of the provider of the Ordination dinner, to sit down with the honored guests thereat. I waited, with others of the younger class, until the ministers and elderly people had made an end of their meal. Among those who sat at the second table, was a pert, talkative lad, a son of Mr. Increase Mather, who, although but sixteen years of age, graduated at the Harvard College last year, and hath the reputation of good scholarship and livelie wit. He told some rare stories concerning Mr. Brock, the minister ordained, and of the marvellous efficacy of his prayers. He concerning Mr. Brock, the minister ordained, and of the marvellous efficacy of his prayers. He concerning Mr. Brock, the minister ordained, and of the marvellous efficacy of his prayers. He concerning Mr. Brock, the minister ordained, and of the marvellous efficacy of his prayers. He concerning Mr. Brock, the minister ordained, and of the marvellous efficacy of his prayers. He concerning Mr. Brock, the minister ordained, and the marvellous efficacy of his prayers. He concerning Mr. Brock, the minister ordained, and the vast territories regict the keatest it, upon the extension of Slavery. The South have gone so far, that men who have always been with them, and carried the knapsacks, could be the with them, and carried the knapsacks, could be the with them, and carried the knapsacks. Could be the with them, and carried the knapsacks, could be the with them, and carried the knapsacks. Could be united it, upon the extension of Slavery. The south have gone so far, that men who have always been with them, and carried the knapsacks. Could be united it, upon t normanic with an ugly look. "Who takes the Indian's between the Part of Capped and the Capped of the Part of Capped and the Capped of the Part of Capped and the

being resigned even to deny herself of the sweet solace of human affection, and to take up the dross daily, if He did so will. "Thy visit and kind words," she continued, "have removed a great weight from me. The way seems more open before me. The Lord bless thee, for thy kindness."

She said this with so much tenderness of spirit, and withal with such an engaging sweetness of look and voice, that I was greatly moved, and, being resigned even to deny herself of the sweet little way from Reading, we overtook an old couple dares to assert those principles for which he was ostracised. The man whom I have opposed so long now occupies the same ground that I have for years maintained. Fellow-citizens, in the campaign of 1844, on every stump in the country the bold him on carefullie, as her old man had drank to much flip. Thereupon the good wife set upon him with a verie vile tongue, telling him that her old man was none other than Deacom Rogers, of look and voice, that I was greatly moved, and, young saucie rake and knave, to accuse him of On our way back we met Robert Pike, who drunkenness, and it would be no more than his

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VENTION. SPEECH OF MR. GROVER.

Mr. GROVER, of New York, next came forward ill that, if they had all cast their clothes into a heap, and then each snatched up whatsoever coat or gown came to hand, they could not have suited worse. Yet they were all clean and tidy, and the young people especiallie did look exceeding happie, it being with them a famous holiday. The young men came with their sisters or their sweet-to-divide the sisters or their sweet-to-divided in its favor. Then it was amajority was considered to the same to the termination of the debate, and then, after the three amendments, they came to vote for the Wilmot Proviso. The North voted for it, and a decided majority was considered to the same to vote for the Wilmot Proviso.

land for our lost sons and husbands and brothers, who would fall in this unjust war. When we who would fall in this unjust war. When we came into Congress at the ensuing session, the question was put to us, whether we would extend slavery? Who deserted our principles then? Was it me? [Loud responses, No. no! not you.] It was Southern Whigs—slaveholding Whigs. I say I do not wait for them to make war upon me—they voted for Texas, and they have abandoned their political faith and their opposition to the war, and I declare to those Whigs who are supporting Zachary Taylor, you have abandoned your principles of 1844. True, you stood by your positions when you supported Henry Clay; but you are now upholding an extension of slavery, with its crimes and its inhumanity. But it is said by some, that Taylor is opposed to the further extension of slavery! They say that a gentleman in Massachusetts [Abbott Lawrence] has received a letter from the General to that effect, received a letter from the General to that effect, that he is a Whig, and opposed to the extension of slavery. I will tell you about another letter, written by Colonel Boone to the Hon. Jacob Thompson, member of Congress from Mississippi.
I have the word of Mr. Thompson for saying that
Colonel Boone's integrity was never doubted, and
never will be denied. He said to me that I was at full liberty to say that he, Mr. Thompson, fully endorsed him as a man of truth and unsullied honor. It will be remembered, that Colonel Boone was one of a committee of five, deputed by the Legislature of Mississippi to invite General Taylor to visit that body. The conversation de-tailed in the letter was had in the presence of that committee, two of whom were Whigs. These Whigs having seen the letter in print, have suffered it to pass as true and correct. Colonel Boone says, in the letter, that General Taylor expressed himself in favor of the war, and of prose-cuting it until we could obtain territorial indemnity, and that the South ought never to submit to the Wilmot Proviso. Do you believe this? I know you will admit its correctness. While General Taylor nor his Whig friends, who were present and heard the remark, dare not deny its accuracy, you will give credit to Colonel Boone's statement. And if any Taylor men undertake to

say that he is opposed to the extension of slavery, just ask them to get General Taylor's denial, or the denial of his friends, of the statements of

solution to the same of the sa

MR. CULVER'S SPEECH.

rience in this matter. I was one of the immor-tal "fourteen" that voted against the war. I tal "fourteen" that voted against the war. I voted against Texas when that base scheme was brought in, and the previous question called, so that one hundred young members were not allowed a word of debate. Three Democrats then stood by my side—Bradford Wood, of Albany, Horace Wheaton, and Preston King—who don't fee without five or thunder. [Amplayee] When

Horace Wheaton, and Preston King—who don't fear either fire or thunder. [Applause.] When I asked King why he opposed the annexation, he laid his hand upon his heart, and said, I can never consent that the South shall acquire another inch of slave territory. [Great applause.] A few days after, I got the floor, and then I lashed them with what I would have said on the day Texas was admitted. I had heard they were about to heat up the political furnace for the benefit of my three Democratic friends, and I told them that in old times three good men and true, who would not

three Democratic friends, and I told them that in old times three good men and true, who would not bow down to the idols of their masters, were cast into a furnace seven times heated, but that they did not get scorched half as badly as did they who threw them in. [Applause.]

I wish to say a word about compromises, now I stand upon middle ground. I know all about anti-slavery. Now, there is that portion of our party, and the Whig portion, and the Democratic portion, and we may not all think to set our stakes at the same notch. Now, it is important that we start out on some good ground, and go it strong as thunder as far as we do go. [Good, good.] Only get them on the track, and the South will make these men all consistent by and by. There is a class of men, and I honor them, who say we must look out for the guaranties of the Constitution. I have heard men talk as though the Constitution was got up for the express purpose of maintainwas got up for the express purpose of maintaining slavery. John C. Calhoun said that slavery was the only kind of property guarantied by the Constitution; and he never blushed, but said it with all the sang froid of a Connecticut school-master.

naster.

Now, the Constitution does not say a word about slaves. The honorable men that made that in-strument remembered that when, twelve years before, at the opening of the Revolution, they stuck their stakes, and stuck them strong, it was necessary to have the sympathy of all the world, and they struck out a charter containing certain great landmarks of which they were proud; and it was a Virginia hand that drew it up; and they recollected that in the platform thus laid down were principles quite inconsistent with the exist-ence of slavery in this land. But now you hear them talk about the compromises of the Constitu-tion. Where do you find them? Nowhere. A just ask them to get General Taylor's denial, or the denial of his friends, of the statements of this letter.

Fellow-citizens, I know that I am trespassing upon your time. [Cries of go on, go on.] I find that my voice is again failing, and I shall be unable to follow out any connected train of remarks. I am sorry to say there has been a geographical distinction between Whigs and Democrats from time immemorial. Southern Democrats have been opposed to Northern Democrats, and Southern Whigs to Northern Democrats, and Southern time immemorial. Southern Democrats, and Southern the opposed to Northern Democrats have been opposed to Northern Democrats, and Southern the opposed to Northern Democrats, and Southern the opposed to Northern Democrats have been opposed to Northern Democrats, and Southern the opposed to Northern Democrats have been opposed to Northern Democrats, and Southern the opposed to Northern Democrats have been opposed to Northern Democrats, and Southern the opposed to Northern Democrats have been opposed to Northern Democrats, and Southern the opposed to Nor Virginian thinks the Constitution is a great jug with the handle all on the Southern side. And friend Hutchinson has been giving us some that as we anxiously waited for the mails to bring us

nia had all the laws in all the States, and all in operation at the same time. Suppose the laws of polygamy were in force in Texas, as they sometimes practically are, [ha, ha, ha,] and it was punished as a crime in Mississippi. Why, you would have to have a law in California for and against polygamy. What a ridiculous farce is this, then, of talking about extending the laws of one's own State over this Territory.

one's own State over this Territory.

Friends, we must unite. I have been a Whigfor some time, and I greased General Taylor and tried for a long time to swallow him, but, after all I could do, he got right across my throat, and there he sticks. [Laughter.] I cannot get him down.

Friends, we must unite. I have been a Whig for some time, and I greased General Taylor and tried for a long time to swallow him, but, after all I could do, he got right across my throat, and there he sticks. [Laughter.] I cannot get him down.

I shall go for the nominee of this Convention. [Applause.] We must unite, and take up the glove where the South threw it down. We will draw a line. Stop, says the South, or we will dissolve the Union. That is one of the richest farces ever played. Dissolve the Union! Why, I remember a hatchet-faced Virginian, whose face was so sharp that he could split an oak tree by looking at it. [Ha, ha, ha] He came around by my seat, and said, so that I could hear it, "I have a great notion to go home to Virginia and call a Convention to dissolve the Union." Said I, "You had better leave a door behind you, and take six weeks' provisions with you, for in less than that time your negroes will bring you back again. [Tremendous applause.] I go for putting it to them. [So do I.] Don't give sweetened water to theme spunky children. Put the string on them. But, say they, Do you wish to elect Cass? [No, no, no.] Nor do we wish to elect Taylor.

But, say they, if you do not elect Taylor, Case will be elected, and out of two evils you should choose the least. But we say to them, we prefer, out of three evils, to choose the least. [Ha, ha, ha] be elected, and out of two evils you should choose the least. But we say to them, we prefer, out of three evils, to choose the least. [Ha, ha, ha] be elected, and out of two evils you should choose the least. But we say to them, we prefer, out of three evils, to choose the least. [Ha, ha, ha] be actived to the several States as an instrument of convention, and they submitted to the several States as an instrument of government. And it did not go into effect the set of the propose of accertaining the theorem the active by submitted to the several States as an instrument of government. And it did not go into effect the set of the propose of the least convent no, no.] Nor do we wish to elect Taylor.

But, say they, if you do not elect Taylor, Cass will be elected, and out of two evils you should went into effect with only ten States. I now remind you of this evils, to choose the least. [Ha, ha, ha] went into effect with only ten States. I now remind you of this for I understand that our members of Congress are now hatching a new compromise a beautiful illustration of this point, in a letter, a few days since. "Suppose," said he, "that at the few days since. "Suppose," said he, "that at the battle of Bunker Hill, the soldiers, instead of uniting to beat back the common foe, had busied themselves in prying into all the past actions of their fellows." But they did no such thing. They forgot all past difficulties. Let us do the same.

These men will come up like a book by and by. Remember what killed Van Buren. Remember what killed Clay. Unite, and say to Taylor Whigs, "Come view the ground where you must shortly lie." [Enthusiastic and long-continued cheering.]

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER'S SPEECH.

Mr. Butler was loudly called for, and came Mr. Butler was foudly called for, and came forward and addressed the meeting as follows:

My Friends: It is perhaps unfortunate for me that I consented that Mr. Culver should first address you, for he possesses a fund of knowledge so varied and diversified, and has so long been an activities are seened. so varied and diversified, and has so long been an actor in scenes of deep political interest, which enables him not only to instruct but to entertain and delight an audience. He can pass from grave to gay, from lively to severe, and in each transition can pursue the steady path of argument. I, fellow-citizens, can only speak to you in words of truth and soberness. I can say nothing to delight the fancy nor to tickle the imagination. I am perfectly conscious however—excuse the vanity the lancy nor to tickle the imagination. I am perfectly conscious, however—excuse the vanity—that I can say something which will reach the hearts of this great audience. [Good blood.] Why am I conscious of this? Because I shall only repeat the truths—the immortal truths—which shall live forever and reform the world, notwith standing that great but erratic genius has pro-nounced them false.

standing that great but erratic genius has pronounced them false.

Fellow-citizens, when the people of Paris first entered the barricades for the expulsion of the Bourbons—when they drove out Charles the 10th, and under the lead of Lafayette—our own Lafayette—the friend of human liberty throughout the world—the friend of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Franklin—they were obliged to ordain new principles of Government. There was one who had been a general, who had even not merely broken his word, but had shed his blood [ha, ha, ha] in defence of his country, and who, though he was a Bourbon, yet said he was a friend of liberty! He united, at all events, in that movement; and when he came into the streets of Paris to put himself, with the consent of the Parisians, at their head, he proclaimed Louis Philippe, and he was elected the first citizen King of France. He proclaimed henceforth the charter granted by Louis 18th, and which Charles the 10th swore to maintain, but broke his oath. Louis Philippe said that the charter henceforth should be a truth; but notwithstanding the applause which some American generals have bestowed upon him, he was proved to be false, and the people of France have again been obliged to raise the barricades. The spirit has come over to us, and we are carrying it forward. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, there is some point and application in the brief historic page I have brought to your recollection. It was not for calling to your

Fellow-citizens, there is some point and application in the brief historic page I have brought to your recollection. It was not for calling to your minds the fulsome and hypocritical laudations of an American general that I have called your attention to it. No! If there were no other objections to Gen. Cass than bad taste in writing his book, I could overlook it. I could even overlook the abilities which have added to the additable of the could be seen overlook. the exhibition which he made, not creditable to any American, at the first meeting held at the capital of the United States, sympathizing with the French, he being one of the very first to re-

seventeen States in the Union, and the capital—coming thousands of miles, and doing as they do and have done heretofore, oftentimes in serious and most exciting conflicts, to open questions of great magnitude, yet forgetting all their differences, and bringing together a congregation of free hearts and free minds, for the purpose of deliberating upon one of the greatest questions which has been submitted to the American People since we have been a nation. And it is, indeed, a spectacle as sublime and exhibarating, as it is noble and extraordinary.

as sublime and exhilarating, as it is noble and extraordinary.

Here we are, old actors upon the political boards. I barely allude to my actions, merely to say that I am not here to undo or to unsay anything that I have ever before done or said. Not that I am infallible. I am a man, with the errors of a man. With regard to the political errors that I have committed, I will say that they were not errors of the heart, but errors of the head; and I am free to say that, now that the new question has come up in which I, as an humble American citizen, am required to deliberate and act, I have tried to meet that question, with a just sense of

come up in which I, as an humble American citizen, am required to deliberate and act, I have tried to meet that question, with a just sense of my responsibility to my fellow-men, and to Him who is the judge that sitteth upon the Throne, and shall weigh all the actions of men—the question whether Freedom shall be abolished in four or five hundred thousand square miles of free territory, and plant the curse of human slavery in these square miles, or not.

How may I—how are the old Democrats—I wish every Democrat in the Union who has resolved to go for General Cass was here, not that I could alter their determination, but I wish they were here to answer this question—how are we Democrats, who profess to take Thomas Jefferson for our guide—how are we to meet this question? I will tell where I sought instruction to enable me to answer it. I went first to the Declaration of Independence—that is the starting point. It was formed by those who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors—and these pledges meant something in '76—and I find it filled with this great foundation truth—that all men are born with certain rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And then I look to that other great charter of human liberty, as well as Divine freedom—to the Bible—and I find that of one blood hath God created all the nations of the earth. [Great applause.]

How can any reasoning in 1848, from any mind, however powerful or acute—for I am not a man to disrespect John C. Calhoun, even for that mad act of nullification, for the errors of a man of genius are sacred to him who has a mind to appreciate and enjoy its lightning action—can any reasoning of Mr. Calhoun, or any of his imitators,

act of nullification, for the errors of a man of genius are sacred to him who has a mind to appreciate and enjoy its lightning action—can any reasoning of Mr. Calhoun, or any of his imitators, or repealers, or of his Northern—whatshall I call them? [Toadies, doughfaces, lickspittles.] Can any of them convince me that the Declaration of Independence sets out with a falsehood, and the Bible not true? How absurd! How ridiculous! Why, as well might the Southern slaveholders attempt to repeat the miracle of Joshua, and command the sun to stand still in the heavens, or to roll back with their puny arms Niagara's might they flood, as to stop the outworking of these principles. The men do great injustice to themselves, as well as to the great mass of the people of the South, to suppose that they can make anybody believe that these are not of the first of the truths in the political economy of our land.

Then I passed to the Constitution of the United States. I am told that there are a great many compromises in that instrument; and so there are, for it was a work of compromise, and act upon it in such haste that had it not been for the Magnetic Telegraph, which appears to have been providentially given us for the express purpose of defeating this compromise, they would have passed it before the People ould have heard of their definition of the infernal world, and John C. Calhoun. I am no admirer of him, nor of the Statanic system of political philosophy of which he is the exponent. But I do agree with him, that the country is in the midst of a crisis—an important, a momentous crisis. And it is for you—the People—to decide the

And, therefore, I say to our national legislators that, before they attempt to pass another compro-mise, they will wait and let the People express their opinions next November, and enable every man to say whether or not it is Christianlike and man to say whether or not it is Christianlike and becoming a free People to abolish Freedom in Mexico and California, and plant Slavery there; and in the name of all that is right and just and true, if they would not make our name a hissing and a byword throughout the earth, let this Congress withhold their hands from the passage of such an act; and especially, let the House of Representatives adhere to the position they have taken, and lay the bill on the table, not only by a majority of fifteen, but by three times fifteen. majority of fifteen, but by three times fifteen.
[Applause.]
There is another point which I wish you to ob-

There is another point which I wish you to observe. This compromise bill would have shuffled this matter off upon the Supreme Court. The Constitution says the Congress of the United States, not the Supreme Court, nor any other judicial tribunal, however learned it may be, shall have power to make laws regulating Territories. Well, now, here are three Territories—Oregon, New Mexico, and California. They won't give the people of Oregon a Government. Why? Because no purt of it lies below 36 deg. 30 min. No; it lies four or five degrees above, and most of it in 42 deg. Why then? Why, because Southern men say they won't vote for any President of the United States, unless he is in favor of allowing Slavery south of 36 deg. 30 min.; and therefore, although all of Oregon lies north of 42 degrees, they will not pass a law giving a Government to Oregon, unless, pari passu, you will pass a law authorizing Slavery in the territory south of 36 degrees and 30 minutes. These Territories are not on the footing of the old Territories; and when they put the question to us, Will you help when they put the question to us, Will you help to abolish Freedom there, and plant Slavery in its stead? we of the New York Democracy said its stead? we of the New York Democracy said no. We have never been blamed for not going far enough with you, but we have often been blamed for going too far; and, fellow-citizens, if you allow the Federal Government to take one step forward to abolish Freedom and establish Slavery in the territory acquired by unrighteous war, you become parties to the enormity, and the guilt rests upon every soul that takes part in it.

My old friend Thomas Ritchie says that my mind must be overset; but it is one fortunate circumstance of such an event, that the man who is mind must be overset; but it is one fortunate circumstance of such an event, that the man who is so overset thinks he is right, and is happy in the thought. [Applause.] And I declare to you that I never slept so soundly, nor enjoyed such an appetite, nor had more pleasant dreams, than since I threw myself into this movement. [Applause. Go it; d—— an ultra Whig.] Mr. Ritchie said it could not be that I was to address the Barnburners' meeting in the Park, because my relations to the party would net admit of it. [Laughter.]

I hold office under the Government, which I got in the following way: Mr. Polk offered me a seat in the Cabinet, which I declined. A short time afterwards, Mr. Polk, in a conversation with a Senator from New York, remarked that he had offered a seat in his Cabinet to a gentleman, who had declined, as he preferred to follow his profession—and suggested that perhaps he would accept the appointment to an office which he held for a few years under Mr. Van Buren. I think I have a right to reach this attempts to the control of the control o for a few years under Mr. Van Buren. I think I have a right to make this statement. The part I took in the Baltimore Convention demands that I should make it. [Yes, yes; go on.] Mr. Dix informed me of Mr. Polk's remark, and urged various reasons why I had better accept the appointment to the office I now hold, United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York. I replied to Mr. Dix, that he might inform Mr. Polk, that if he had not made other arrangements, that if he would not have to make any changes even of determination, that I would accept the appointment. And this is the way that I came Washington Union concerning me, a free citizen of the State of New York. I felt no wish to have been born in Virginia [Applause.] I could not have spoken as calmly as I did on that occasion,

Mr. Bright, of Indiana, (Heaven save the mark, the State of New York had the misfortune to be his birthplace,) said, "If Mr. Polk don't turn you out of office, there will be trouble." I said, they duties to turn me out; and therefore I will not go out of the State of New York till I am turned out of office, [I hope you will soon be turned out,] but every moment that I can spare I shall devote

but every moment that I can spare I shall devote to this cause. [Applause.] Fellow citizens, the question now before us is a question of greater importance than any other that is now before the country or the world. The oppressed and downtrodden of the world look to this country for homes; and if we allow slavery to be introduced into the territories of the South and West, these people can never find a home there. Free labor cannot exist where slavery holds sway; and thus you see that this question embraces the interests of myriods that are to come embraces the interests of myriads that are to come after us, on both sides of the Atlantic. And, fel-low-citizens of every kind, feeling the full impor-

low-citizens of every kind, feeling the full importance of this question, I am with you to the victory. [Great applause.]

After the conclusion of Mr. Butler's remarks, he said that, after having listened to several speakers, the Convention would doubtless be glad of some variety. He understood that the Hutchinson family were in the assembly, and suggested that they should be called upon for a song. The announcement was received with enthusiastic aparanouncement was received with enthusiastic apand stated that he was the only member of the Hutchinson family in the city; but, with the aid of some volunteers, he would attempt to give the

MR. BRINKERHOFF'S SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am not a very promising subject. [Ha, ha.] But I will make you one Fillow-citizens: I am not a very promising subject. [Ha, ha.] But I will make you one promise; and that is, that I will be brief, [oh, no; give us a good speech,] so that, in case I should be tedious, your tortures will not be protracted. [Laughter and applause.] I will, on another condition, make you another promise; and that is, that you shall be tolerably still—or, as the Paddy said, "if you cannot be aisy, be aisy as you can be aisy, liquidite; and I will make you.

losophy of which he is the exponent. But I do agree with him, that the country is in the midst of a crisis — an important, a momentous crisis. And it is for you—the People—to decide the question, the most important ever submitted to the deliberations of a free people since our own revolutionary era, whether or not the wast acquisitions which we have made upon the shores of the Pacific—the foundations of mighty empires—the home of unborn millions—which have been purchased, and cheaply too, by all the blood and treasure which have been expended for them—it is for you to decide whether they shall be the theatre of free labor, the home of free mind, of enterprise, of progressive civilization, the land of common schools—or whether they shall be cursed with manneted labor, where enterprise dies out of itself, where the common school is impossible, where labor is dishonorable and therefore unproductive, where the hot and burning feet of the slave scorch its plains and hills into barrenness. It is for you to decide this momentous question. Shall it be decided in favor of freedom, man, and humanity, or of alavery, injustice, oppression, villany? [By the crowd. Freedom, freedom.] Well, my friends, upon you, you the People, the sovereign People, rests a fearful responsibility. Don't trust to politicians. You have trusted them too long already. Trust only yourselves, your ow generous instincts, your own sugacious judgment, your own upright intentions, uninfluenced by the hope of office. Trust to them, and attend to your own interests. Why, what difference does it make to you who is President? You do not expect to be appointed on a foreign mission, or to a seet in the Cabinet, or to a clerkship in the Post

had Ishalden

the various offices derived from the accide curacy of a Mexican bullet. [Laughter.]

I remember that, in 1928 and 1832, we made this country, as Whigs, vocal with our denuncia-tions of men military being raised to the Presi-dency on account of their military qualifications. But General Jackson had been a distinguished

Senator in Congress and an able Judge in Ten-nessee, and the mere fact of his military qualifi-

character, as a understand it. In a section of its delphia, it turned executioner and sexton of its principles, I turned from it, and was alone until this Convention took me to its arms, God bless it.

[Applause.]
It has been charged by the South that this is

an aggressive movement upon them, for the purpose of destroying their domestic institutions. That question we have put at rest in the platform which has been reported to-day. Denying all right to interfere with the internal policy of the

various States, we plant ourselves upon free soil and tell our Southern brethren that not one incl

we say to them, this soil must remain free—endorse it if you can—try it if you dare. [Great applause.] Long enough have we endured the sneers

and the encroachments of the South. We have endured it until teleration has ceased to be a vir-

tue, and now we plant ourselves upon the plat-form that our fathers planted themselves upon, and say to the South, "Beware, the blood of the Roundheads is aroused!"

I wish I had time to proceed farther in this dis-

rwish I had time to proceed farther in this dis-cussion. I would like to argue the question of the power of Congress to exclude slavery from the Territories, but I feel myself bodily exhausted— mentally, I shall never die. What I ask gentle-

mentally, I shall never die. What I ask gentlemen, in conclusion, is, that when we go home from
this place, that every man shall go with a determination to spare no pains, no time, no exertion,
to achieve that victory which the justice of our
cause will in the end insure, if we will only do
justice to that in which we are engaged. As
Northern men, we have a duty to perform to ourselves, to humanity, to truth, to justice, to the
world. And if by the trickery of slave power
freedom is again stricken down, when we put our
heads upon our pillows, let it be with the convic-

heads upon our pillows, let it be with the convic-tion, at least, that our duty has been performed; and while the groans and cries of their victims mingle with the triumphant shouts of their vic-tories, we can look Heaven in the face, and say,

"Thou canst not say I did it."
One word in relation to the candidates. In 1840, then a resident of the State of Indiana, although born and reared in this my native State, I had the honor of being an elector upon the Harrison ticket, and in 1844 I made the woods of Indiana years with my denunciations or single the relations years with my denunciations or single the relations were a with my denunciations or single the relations of the relations of the relations of the relation to the

rison ticket, and in 1844 I made the woods of Indiana vocal with my denunciations against the policy of Martin Van Buren. But times have changed, and men are changed with them. Mr. Van Buren now I can as cordially go for as in 1840 I opposed him, [great cheers;] and it is for the reason that this, my motto, has ever been, "Principles, not men." [Applause.] I do not know Martin Van Buren in this contest. All I know is, that circumstances have placed him in the way of the

circumstances have placed him in the van as the leader of freedom's hosts; and while he is there,

and I am actuated by the sentiment of eternal

nostinty to the stave power, I am nothing out a private in the army, bound to fight for the common cause. [Great applause.] So much for this candidate; and as for the other, I cannot separate him from his father, [applause;] and when I cast my vote for him, I shall see standing side by side the substance of the son and the spirit of the father. [Applause 1] All arms represents:

forced to turn my attention elsewhere. When they sacrificed that NOBLE HEART upon the altar of despotism, I felt the time for action had arriv-

ed. Henry Clay—as long as exalted patriotism, transcendental genius, nobleness of soul, and love of freedom, shall command the respect of the minds and sway the impulses of the hearts of

minds and sway the impulses of the hearts of men, the name of Henry Clay shall be cherished with love, and admiration, and delight. [Enthu-siastic applause.] Next to this now stands him whom I have fought from earliest youth. That man is Martin Van Buren. [Tremendous cheers.] When I saw this man, that I had formerly believed to be timid cautious, and calculating.

to be timid, cautious, and calculating—this man en-oying the universal confidence and affection of

the great Democratic party—willing to sacrifice all this personal regard and forfeit all this public

confidence and esteem, and plant himself upon the spot where freedom dwelt, and bid defiance to the South—it was a sublime spectacle—it was the poetry of politics—it was the religion of patriotism.

Applause.]
When I saw it, then and there, on that occa

sion did I surrender up all personal prejudices against that man. [Applause.] I say, fellow-citi-zens, that a man like this deserves the favor, the

zens, that a man like this deserves the favor, the support, the honorable mention of every lover of liberty in this and other lands [Yes, yes; he does.] And that we may be able hereafter to reward him with the office to which we are all striv-

ing to elevate him, shall ever be the effort, as it now is the pasyer of him who now addresses you. [Mr. White resumed his seat amid the general applause of thevast assemblage.]

A NEW ARGUMENT.

The Constitution provides for the admission of new States into the Union. The third clause of the second section of the first article declares

of the second section of the first article declares that representatives and direct taxes shall be ap-portioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective members, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of

years, excluding indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons?

"Here we find that representation of slaves is expressly provided for in new States to be admitted in the Union. This proves conclusively that the framers of the Constitution contemplated the future admission of slave States."

Mr. Bayly's Speech in the House, May 16.

When the Constitution was under consider

tion, it was very doubtful how many States would

ratify it, and come into the Union. Hence pro-vision was made that the approval of nine States

should be sufficient for its ratification. The rea-

son of the phraseology on which Mr. Bayly

hangs his argument, is at once explained. Such of the States as "may be included" in the Union

we are about forming, shall be entitled to repre-

sentation according to such a ratio.

Again: As it was necessary to proceed upon the principle of the equality of the People of the several States, it is obvious that the same

rule or ratio of representation should be fixed for all. Any other policy would have been un-

just, and would have prevented any union at all.

The three-fifths rule, while it provided for a rep-

resentation of the slaveholding States, (which

constituted the majority,) in proportion to a cer-tain amount of their slave population, did not

recognise the policy or necessity of allowing such

a population, or perpetuating it. It was couched in such terms that the provision would not have

should every State have abolished slavery at the

ment of its ratification of the Cons

estility to the slave power. I am nothing

As that rising empire on the Pacific is moulded, so will it continue for all coming time. The hap-piness or misery to be bestowed on the millions yet unborn, is to be decided by the mould into yet unborn, is to be decided by the mould into which you now cast their institutions. Shall we so act as that future generations shall rise up and call us blessed, or shall we make ourselves the fit objects of their curses, so that they will blush to

objects of their curses, so that they will blush to name us as their ancestors?

I heard a remark on this stand to-day—made innocently, no doubt—but, being made without reflection, it did injustice to its subject. I heard the name of Locofoco used with reproach. Now, gentlemen, I have gloried in that name. Who was it that first gave that name to any political organization? William Leggett, of the city of New York; and I will ask your chairman if thaman ever breathed who advocated with more intense real, with more glowing eloquence, and in a style which genius might have envied, the cause style which genius might have envied, the cause of freedom better than William Leggett? [No, no, no.] It is a fact. Would to God that he were alive now! He would be with us—his voice, calling us to combat the influences of slavery, would be heard, eloquent as of vore. he heard, eloquent as of yore.

I glory in the name of Democrat, adopting the

Sentiments of Jenerson, who was one of the most consistent advocates for free soil in the great Northwest; and had he never done anything else to merit the admiration of future ages, that alone would have rendered him

### "One of the few, the immort

Jefferson and Leggett were the apostles of American Liberty; and the Free Soil gospel which they preached is yet pure and undefiled, and it shall yet triumph, although some of its disciples have proved recreant to their faith. What if Judas did hang himself? Did it affect, has it affected, can it ever affect, the doctrines of his great Master? No! And although the political Judases of our day shall hang themselves as high as Haman, [ha, ha, ha,] they can never for one moment retard the onward rush of our great movement.

great movement.

Some of my friends have said, "Brinkerhoff, you are no Democrat." Why? "Because you don't vote for General Cass." [Laughter.] Now, I have always been under the impression—the silly impression it may be thought—that Democracy conjusted not in men par in organizations. I have always been under the impression—ine silly impression it may be thought—that Democracy consisted, not in men, nor in organizations, but in principles. If the Wilmot Proviso is not Democracy, then General Cass's democracy is entirely new. It is very green. [Laughter.] For, not longer ago than one year, he was loud in his complaints against John Davis for talking against time, and thus preventing him from having an opportunity of voting in its favor. Lewis Cass was then no Democrat, according to the logic of his advocates, or else he has flopped over. Shall I, therefore, turn? I am not made of such flexible material. Why, the entire North, with the exception of three votes, went for that Proviso. material. Why, the entire North, with the exception of three votes, went for that Proviso. Where are they now? Gone off after a mess of political pottage. Let them enjoy it. [It may poison them.] No fear. Nothing will injure them, except an infusion of honesty. Give me the joy which arises from the sense of honor maintained, duty discharged, and Freedom defended. [Applause.] One year after that time, I heard General Cass speak in the Senate of the United States. He then professed to be in favor of the principle, but said it was not the time to act upon it. But a short time before, he thought it was both the time for action, and expedient to act. Now, I cannot turn with him. I defy Gen. Cass to contradict this statement. If he attempts it, I Now, I cannot turn with him. I defy Gen. Cass to contradict this statement. If he attempts it, I can bring the testimony of nine men—every one of them as good as myself—to substantiate what I have said. [We don't want them—your word is sufficient.] He knows it is true, and hence the expression in his letter, "he thinks there has been a change coming on in the public mind, and in his own." [Great laughter.] I would respect General Cass's opinions, if I thought they were sincere. I respect the sincere opinions of any man, though they lead to change, for I have experienced such myself. But I believe that General Cass thinks as I do, that the Proviso is both expedient and constitutional. I believe that he put his hand in his bosom and took out his soul and laid it out in view of the Devil, for the purpose of receiving a little temporary elevation. Let the North repudiate him. I believe the South will; and if they do, perhaps there will be others getting up they do perhang there will be off

go on; we like the way you talk. I cannot go on—my health is feeble—it has always been feeble, and nothing else; sud, thanking you for you kindness, I will relieve you. [Great applause and three cheers for Brinkerhoff.]

# SPEECH OF HON I I. WHITE

Follow me, my fellow-Whigs, for there are nany of you here, and to you I address myself, in many of you here, and to you I address myself, in order that you may carry home to your constituents the observations which I shall address to you; follow me to the Philadelphia Convention—a body of men considered Whigs—committed by every obligation of duty, of principle, and of honor, not to travel beyond the Whig party to find a candidate for the Presidency, and to select none but a man pledged to support and carry out the great principles for which that party has been struggling for nearly half a century. This was their duty. How was that duty discharged? The gratitude of the Whig party—aye, the affections of the Whig party—all pointed to one man beyond the Alleganies. There rose and set the very sun of the party. To him the affections of all these delegates were directed by a confiding constitudelegates were directed by a confiding constitu-ency, that when at Philadelphia they would carry out the views of those who sent them thither. Yet, by the scheming politicians of the South when it was discovered that Henry Clay had prowhen it was discovered that Henry Clay had pro-claimed no more slave territory, even he, the man that in youth and riper age they had been taught almost to deify, they were found ready to sacrifice upon the altar of this institution, because they thought that he was too much attached to North-ern institutions, to Northern principles, and to Northern men. And they took up, and presented for the suffrages of the Whigs of this Union what I have denominated a living issult to the intellifor the suffrages of the Whigs of this Union what I have denominated a living insult to the intelligence of its members. Who was he whom they presented to us as our candidate? A man who had distinguished himself in civil service? No! He had fought four battles, and written four accounts of them—and therefore he was to be our candidate—an honest old gentleman, who, in the honesty and simplicity of his rough Western nature, told them plainly, I have not the qualifications for this place; but if you choose to make fools of yourselves, and vote for me, I will do the best I can for you; but God knows what it will be, for I don't. [Great laughter.] Well; this old man's nomination by the schemers of the South was anticipated, and, thinking it to be rather an anomalous position for a party to be placed in, was anticipated, and, thinking it to be rather an anomalous position for a party to be placed in, they undertook to question him upon his principles. In one letter he informed them that he was a Whig, but not an ultra Whig. All this went very well; but, after that, a gentleman of Louisiana wrote him, to ascertain what were his opinions upon the tariff and the Mexican war. His answer was, that, in relation to the latter, he was engaged in it himself; and as for the former, he had passed his life in camp, and had never had time to examine it. Thus we get a definition of what General Taylor means by a "Whig, but not an ultra Whig." It is a Whig without opinions. I was not willing to trust such a Whig. Upon the principles for which the Whigs had been battling for forty years, General Taylor had no opinions. He was nominated—a Whig without opinions and without concealments; for he took good care to tell you all he knew, and he took especial ions and without conceniments; for he took care to tell you all he knew, and he took es care to tell you all he knew, and he took especial care to let you know that that was—nothing. He took care, also, to inform you that he would not veto any bill which Congress might choose to pass, but he would express no opinions and give no pledges. Now, I understand the principles of this Government to be, that at the ballot-box the popular will is to be represented; and how shall this be done, unless the voter knows what principles he is ampropriate when he casts his votes?

contemplated the continuance of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, as slave States.

## THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, AUGUST 31 . 848.

Perhaps, gentlemen, it is possible that this old man may be elected. [No, no.] If he is, what sort of an administration will he have? [Miscellaneous, some one says. True—pledged to nothing but himself, you would find this Government turned into a kind of military hospital for sick, sore, and superannuated soldiers. Imagine that that old man occupied the White House. Bewildered by the strangeness of his position, he would surround himself by his friends from the army, for, as I understand it, he has not slept in a civilized bed for forty years, and, of course, his only friends and associates have been those of the camp. On one side you would see corporals wounded in the leg or arm. On the other, a colonel, wounded in the face, of course. [Laughter.] Here you would see a captain stumping it through the avenue with a wooden leg; and then a major parading his epaulets and plume, minus an arm. You would see this motley assemblage thronging Pennsylvania avenue, and the places of emolument and trust occupied by these friends of this old man—their only fitness for the various offices derived from the accidental accuracy of a Maxigan bullet. If accident Before this number goes to press, we shall have left the city on a short tour, to take breath and recruit. We shall be absent two or three weeks, and meanwhile have made arrangements for giving our readers the benefit of the treasures in our pigeon-holes, in the absence of the usual

In order to make room for letters of Mr VAN BUREN and Mr. ADAMS, accepting the Buffalo nominations, we have been compelled to leave out several articles prepared for this week's

We had designed to note the progress of the Free Soil movement, but for want of room we are unable to do so. We must content ourselves by saying that in all the free States, from Maine to lowa, the fires of Liberty are burning brightly. The friends of Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free nessee, and the mere fact of his military qualifications was no serious objection to him, and our mouths were thus stopped. But now, in 1848, this same conscientious Whig party that taught me this principle in 1828 and 1832, by way of Men, are leaving the ranks of Cass and Taylor, not by scores simply, but by hundreds and thousands. Many papers that have hitherto support-ed Taylor and Cass, have hauled down their me this principle in 1828 and 1832, by way, of showing the utter insincerity of all party professions, presents for my suffrage a man fresh from the gory battle-field, with no qualifications except that which he has wrought out with his sword. Such was not the purpose for which the Whig party was organized, and such was not its character, as I understand it. And when, at Philanames, and run up the flag for Van Buren, Adams. and Liberty. New papers devoted to the Free Democracy are springing up all over the land.

Nor is the movement confined to the Free States. Maryland has held a State Convention. and nominated a Van Ruren and Free Soil elec toral ticket. Virginia and Kentucky will also have Free Soil tickets; while in Louisiana a Van Buren club has been formed, "to prevent the extension of slavery." North Carolina will move soon. We assure our friends the work goes bravely on, and, if followed up, will result in a triumphant victory.

### CAMPAIGN PAPER.

We have been urged repeatedly to let our paper go to club for the campaign. So expensive is printing in Washington and so heavy are our burdens here generally, that we fear to do anything that may prove detrimental to the permanen subscription of the paper. But, constrained by the solicita-tions of friends, and hoping to enlarge still more rapidly the circle of Anti-Slavery readers, we have concluded to offer the Era for four months, which will embrace the whole period of the campaign, and the time during which its official results will be made public, on the following terms:

Ten copies to one address, for four months, five dollars, i

No departure from these terms need be expected We have not heretofore encouraged subscriptions to the Era for less than a year, but the present state of politica affairs, the importance of a wide diffusion of Anti-Slavery truths, and the earnest request of numerous friends, now in duce us to announce that, until otherwise noticed, we wil period, six months for one dollar, as usual, in advance.
We accompany this offer with the expression of an earnes hope, that, where it is practicable, subscriptions will be sen

## A SECOND EDITION.

NOTICE TO NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

Having exhausted our edition of the Era, con aining the proceedings of the Convention at Buffalo, and numerous subscribers having since come in requesting to begin with that number, we have issued a second edition of it. It is an exceedingly valuable number, just the thing to open a new volume; containing, now, Corwin's great speech the closing action of Congress on the Oregon Question, and the Proceedings of the Buffalo

So great was the demand for Corwin's speed that we thought no better matter could be found to accompany the Convention and Congressional proceedings

accommodating as to go to the expense of a second edition for your benefit, send in the subscribersdo not let any copies become stale on our hands.

# STILL ANOTHER EDITION!

side the substance of the son and the spirit of the father. [Applause.] All are merged now in one common party. [Name it.] It is the "Free Soil Party." [Great applause.] All past predilections and prejudices are to be forgotten. Here, upon the altar of our country's truth, they must be sacrificed. My attachment to this party is the result of circumstances, and not of choice.

When the Whig party was dissolved by the action of the Philadelphia Couvention, I was forced to turn my attention elsewhere. We find that we have under-estimated the zeal of our friends. The ordinary edition of the Era has been greatly increased to meet the demands of new subscribers; but, still they come. We have been obliged to issue another edition containing the Buffalo Proceedings. It contains, in addition to the Proceedings, the Speeches at the Convention, and the Speeches of Messrs. Corwin and Webster. A great number for circulation. Send in the Clubs.

If the old party journals will not preach the Free Soil doctrines and policy to their readers, they certainly will not object to our preaching to hem. If we would elect our candidates, we must reach the ear of the country.

We rejoice to see Free Soil Campaign papers springing up in almost every quarter. Give them rigorous support. Let every school district in every State be canvassed.

# THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

Unable in consequence of ill health to attend he Buffalo Convention, we have waited with no slight degree of solicitude to hear the result of its labors. Our fears in respect to it have been ex-pressed strongly in late numbers of the Era. We ad been so often disappointed in our hopes of a general and harmonious concert of action on the part of freemen in behalf of liberty; we had seen o much timidity, evasiveness, and half-hearted folly, on the part of those whose professions had raised hopes which their performances mocked and baffled, that we scarcely dared hope that the members of the Buffalo Convention would have the wisdom and the courage to take at once the position demanded by the crisis-to plant themselves firmly on the platform of the Declaration of Independence, and organize the Party of the People, having for its central idea the absolute and universal equality of human rights.

Yet such has been the fact. The Convent has nobly performed its great mission. Independent Whigs and Democrats and Liberty nen have looked each other in the face, have heard each other's words, and, casting aside all the prejudices and jealousies of the past, have oined hands around a common altar, and united in a common vow. We have read the resolution dopted by the Convention with feelings of grati ude to God that our forebodings of evil have not been realized; that our most sanguine anticipe ions of good have been exceeded. They are satisfactory. They cover the ground which it i ecessary to occupy. Based on eternal verities, the Free Democracy can now bid defiance to the open assaults or the secret machinations of their

In contemplating this glorious movement, w are irresistibly reminded of the prophetic words of WILLIAM LEGGETT: "See what three short years have done in effecting the anti-monopoly reform : depend upon it, the next three years, or, if not three, say three times three, if you please, will work a greater revolution on the Slavery question. The stream of public opinion now sets gainst us; but it is about to turn, and the regurgitation will be tremendous." This was written in fall of 1838. The three times three years have scarcely passed away, and the prediction is fulfilled. The tone of the debates in Congress; the growing Free Soll majority in the House of Representatives; the passage of the Oregon Bill, with the Wilmot Provise, in the Senate; the unparalleled gathering of freemen at Buffalo; the una-minity of feeling and action, and the indomitable seal and enthusiasm there manifested, and the spontaneous outbursts of joy with which its results have been greeted throughout the free ommenced in good earnest—that the tide has at

In short, the phraseology, "such of the States as may be included within this Union," while it is fairly applicable to all new States, was primarily intended to embrace such of the original States as might ratify the Constitution, and affords little ground for interence as to the views of the framers of the Constitution respecting new States: and, as to the fact that the three-fifths ratio applied to such of the States as might "be included within the Union," it is no more fair to infer from it that the framers of the Constitution contemplated the

future admission of slave States, than that they which pervaded that wast assemblage. For our selves, we cannot see how any one who feels the necessity and realizes the glorious significance of this movement, can hesitate for one moment to throw himself, heart and soul, into it. Let the free Press work night and day, scattering Truth and Light, with untiring perseverance. Let the Pulpit speak; let Christ's freemen preach the Gospel of Humanity. Let every man, whatever his calling or profession, who can give acceptable public utterance to his thoughts, tax his ability to the utmost. There are scores of men in this new party of Freedom to whom might be well applied the glowing language of the poet:

Champion of the right-patriot or priest or pleader for the innocent cause, Upon whose lips the mystic bee hath dropped the honey of persuasion,
Whose heart and tongue have been touched as of old by the
live coal from the altar!
To hold the multitude as one breathing in measured cadence,
A thousand men with flashing eyes waiting upon one will,
A thousand hearts kindled by one with consecrated fire,
Ten flaming spiritual hecatombs offered on the mount of
God!

Let all such now do their duty, promptly, unreservedly; or, rather, let them embrace with joy and thankfulness the opportunity offered them for winning the approval of their consciences and the applause of good men, by advocating the cause of equal and impartial freedom. The public ear is open: the public heart and conscience are with us: all things stand waiting and prepared. The fields are white for the harvest-Thrust in the sickle! Let immediate measures be taken to provide the means of sending tracts. newspapers, and, above all, the voice of the living speaker, into every school district of the free States. Finally, let all who love Liberty and detest Slavery, with whatever party they have hitherto acted, in the language of the closing resolution of the Buffalo Convention, "inscribe on their banner, ' Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Speech, and Free Men,' and under it fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward their exertions."

## THE NO-PARTY CANDIDATE.

The Ohio State Journal, pledged to Taylor, says, peaking of the Buffalo nomination "We cannot cooperate with them, because we are a Whig—and in the accomplishment of Whig measures we naturally enough prefer Whig

The Philadelphia North American says: "The Prantacepata North American says:

"The real fact, as every honest man knows, is
that no one principle has been surrendered by the
Whigs, in receiving General Taylor; but that
the great platform principle in regard to the veto,
which he professes in common with all the Whigs
in the Union, pledges him to every Whig measure
the moment the party shall have elevated him and
Whig Congress together to prove Whitener a Whig Congress together to power. Whatever an anti-veto Whig Congress may enact, not on its

own face wrongful and unconstitutional, the anti-veto Whig President is bound, by his own pa-triotic, republican code, to accept and confirm." Now, every honest man who reads the newspapers, knows that General Taylor is not a Whig candidate-that he is a No-Party candidate-and that he is not pledged to withhold his veto from a Wilmot Proviso bill.

We shall prove that he is not a Whig, but an independent candidate, by declarations over his own signature, published since his acceptance of the nomination by the Whigs. The following letter has not appeared in a majority of the Tavlor papers. It is a reply to GEORGE LIPPARD, of Philadelphia:

"BATON ROUGE, LA., July 24, 1848. "DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 5th instant, asking of me a line or two, in regard to my posi-tion as a candidate for the Presidency, has been

duly received.

"In reply, I have to say, that I am not a party candidate, and, if elected, shall not be the President of a party, but the President of the whole people.

"I am, dear sir, with high respect and regard, your most obedient servant, Z. Taylor." your most obedient servant, Z. TAYLOR."
"Not a Party Candidate"—then, he is not a

But here is something still more to the point It shows that, in accepting the Whig nomination, he did not understand himself to be made a Whig candidate. It is the extract of a letter written in reply to a communication from the Democracy of Charleston, South Carolina, informing him of his nomination by them. It is of a date subsequent to his acceptance of the Philadelphia nomination Only an extract is published in the Charleston

(S. C.) papers: "I never had any aspirations for the Preside "I never had any aspirations for the Presidency, nor have I now, farther than the wishes of my friends are concerned in the matter; nor would I have it on any other terms than I stated when the subject was first agitated, which is, that my acceptance must be without pledges or being trammelled in any way, so that I could be the President of the whole Nation and not of a Party. "I have accepted the nomination of the Phila-delphia Convention, as well as the nomination of delphia Convention, as well as the nomination of many primary assemblies gotten up in various sections of the Union, in some instances irre-spective of party; and would have accepted the nomination of the Baltimore Convention, had it been tendered on the same terms. I am now fully, if not fairly, before the country as a candidate for the Chief Magistracy; and if it should be my good or bad fortune to be elected, I trust my course will be such, for the most part, as regards the management of our national affairs, as will meet the approbation of my fellow-citizens. Should they fail to do so, they will, I flatter myself, have the charity to attribute my errors to the head, and not to the heart. Very respectfully, your friend, been tendered on the same terms. I am now fully, if not

And would have "accepted the nomination of the Baltimore Convention, had it been tendered on the same terms!" What terms? Complete exemption from all obligation to the doctrines or measures of the conventions or parties tendering him a nomination. And yet the Whigs, placed by the old General on a perfect level with Natives, Independents, and Democrats, claim exclusive right in him, as their candidate, pledged to Rhode Island their policy, and bound to select Whig men for his counsellors and agents!

Either General Taylor falsifies, or they have committed a most ridiculous blunder! Now, for the General's veto and the Wilmot

Proviso. Because he has declared that the veto ought not to be used against a measure, not wrongful and unconstitutional on its face," the Taylor papers at the North argue that he cannot use it against any bill prohibiting the introduc tion of slavery into free territory! That is, in the face of all probabilities, and without one particle of evidence, they impute to General Tayor their own doctrines respecting Right and the Constitution; and because they would not veto such a bill, therefore he would not do so!

Precious logicians! and fair, too! Why do they not tell their Northern readers that it is to this very veto power Southern Whigs are looking to arrest any bill restricting slavery? Look! here is a specimen. In a political dis-cussion between Henry A. Wise and Joseph Segar, at Hampton, Virginia, during the last month, Mr. Segar is reported by the Richmond Republican to have held the following language: "General Taylor took the true view of the veto

power-was not for its abrogation-would not bills relating to the currency, fiscal operat bills relating to the currency, ascal operations, the tariff, and internal improvements, because, like Madison, in regard to the bank, he regarded those questions as settled, constitutionally speaking, by repeated adjudication and long acquiescence. But in cases of palpably unconstitutional and hasty and inconsiderate legislation, he would exercise the veto, and, under this reservation, he might he safely relied on To veto any BILL CONTAINING THE PROVISIONS OF THE WILLHOT PROVISO. The citizens of Marion district, S. C., recently

held a meeting, at which they resolved to support General Taylor. One resolution adopted, was as "Resolved, That we feel no apprehension as to the security of our peculiar domestic institutions, in the elevation to the Chief Magistracy of the Union, of one who is identified with the South, by feeling, birth, and education."

Mr. Evans "urged upon the meeting the superior claim of General Taylor to the support of

should she support General Cass, and that Gen-

ations, the proper and fit choice of the South." 37,000 dency and Vice Presidency, adopted a long preamble, reciting in detail the movements in the free States in favor of free soil, as reasons why General Taylor should be sustained by the slave-

"We know him," they say, "as one whose lot has been cast in that portion of the Union now decried, and sought to be trodden down. His in-terests are our interests. We know that he must feel the lawless character of any attempt to inter-We know that he must feel the senseless clamor that is raised to disturb our possession of that property, as violating the law, either of God or man. We know that, in this great paramount and leading question of the rights of the South, he is of us, he is with us, and he is for us. We know, that now to hesitate, to falter in our support of one so closely connected with us in spirit and interest, so honest in his opinions, so just in his character, so independent in his conduct would be wilfully to be heedless of the appeal which the position of our State makes to our patriotism, and unmindful of the high political necessity, which now so strongly urees us to rise cessity, which now so strongly urges us to rise superior to the trammel of the mere name of a party—a party declining openly to defend the great principle of equality among the States, so essential to our well-being—and, by a firm and independent course of conduct, strike home ablow in defence of the rights of the South, the purity of the Constitution, and the representation of

### THE NORTHERN MAN WITH SOUTHERN PRINCIPLES.

The State Central Committee of the Democra Virginia has just issued an address to the ople of that State, in which the Northern Man with Southern principles is thus eulogized :

"Lewis Cass is an ardent admirer of the Constitution, under the benign influence of which this Republic has advanced with such unprecedented rapidity in all the elements of national prosperity. He will maintain the veto power, that conservative feature which has repeatedly vindicated the will of the People, and saved this country from the direct calamities. He is not country from the direct calamities. He is not pledged to 'hold his hand' He is pledged to eany bill which contains the principles of the Wilmot Proviso, in whatever form it may be presented to him for his approval. He 'does not see in the Constitution any grant of the requisite power to Con-gress; and he believes that 'the measure, if adopted, would weaken, if not impair, the Union of the States; and would sow the seeds of future discord, which would grow up and ripen into an abundant harvest of calamity?"

The same Committee point out the peculia cenefit of his election to slaveholding interests: "The unfortunate decision of these questions should teach us that divisions among Southern men can have no other effect than to alienate our friends at the North. We should endeavor to check this alienation, to prevent the increase of this sectional party, by the election to the Presi-dency of one whose views and sentiments are in nce with our own, and who, from his ocality, distinguished patriotism, commanding bilities, and weight of character, can exert an extensive influence among Northern men, to strengthen and give permanence to the rights of the South, as guarantied by the Constitution. Such a man is our candidate for the Presidency. The election of such a man, at such a crisis, when the political elements are in deep commotion, will, we believe, avert from our Union the danger with which it is threatened. The South may consider her interests safe with the election of Lewis Cass and William O. Butler."

Again: The Union publishes a long letter from Henry A. Wise, late member of Congress from the Virginia peninsula of Accomac. It is all about General Cass, for whom he professes great admiation, and whom he intends to support for various easons, among which he gives the following:

"That he is pledged to exercise the constitu-tional power of the veto against the odious meas-ure called the Wilmot Proviso, and against all asures of that class, and that he has voted

The partisans of General Cass at the North re continually holding him up as the real Free Soil candidate - the man in whose election the people of the free States would find a complete afeguard against the extension of Slavery. Duplicity!

# REPRESENTATION.

In 1832, a law was passed enacting that from and after the 3d of March, 1833, the ratio of representation should be 47,700. No provision was made for the representation of fractions. By that ratio, the aggregate amount of fractions thus

In the free States - - -In the slave States - - -211,609 The law of 1843 entitled a State to one repr

entative for a fraction which should exceed moiety of the ratio. The ratio selected after such calculation and manœuvring was, 70,680. As general rule, it is certainly just that the ratio should be adopted which will leave the smallest amount of unrepresented fractions. This rule was totally disregarded in the selection of the ratio of 1843, and, in its place, a purely sectional one was adopted. This will be made manifest by the following tables. We class the free and slaveholding States separately, as it is necessary to show the operation of the principle introduced into legislation.

Non-Slaveholding States.

Reps. un-der ratio tions of 70,680. Reps. un- Frac-der ratio tions. New Hampshire 4,573 37.699 R. 10 38,828 R. 23,036 44,007 R. 24 49,065 R. 21 56.050 R. 136 181,161 90,631 14,124 10.202 25,092 43,582 R.

17,566 5,030 55,986 6,924 10,400 19,600 127,952 itself as the simplest, and it is evident that the

unless from some design; and this design mu have been to secure the fairest and fullest repre sentation on the whole, or to favor a particular interest, at the expense of this sound principle But the table shows that the former could no have been the object; for, the unrepresented population under the ratio of 70,680 is nearly 50,00 greater than under that of 70,000, and the disroportion between the two sections of the Union inordinate; the unrepresented population of the free States amounting to 181,161, of the slave States to 85,796, nearly one hundred thousand

alar ratio was selected with the express view to aggrandize or favor a particular interest. An examination of the tables has already satisfied every reader of unprejudiced mind, that this interest was Slavery—the slaveholders, by the aid of some Yankee contrivance, played an admira

bly ingenious game. Let us analyze it.

The ratio of 70,000 would leave the unrepresented fractions of the free States at 90,631; of the slave States at 127,952. That of 70,680 would raise these fractions in the former to 181,161, and eral Taylor was, from birth, education, and location, together with all his public acts and decla-

The large and enthusiastic meeting of the De- would be nearly one hundred thousand against cracy of Charleston district, South Carolina, the free States; and yet the representatives of the which recently adopted General Taylor and free States in Congress, with a majority of 49, General Butler, as its candidates for the Presi- suffered not only their own section to be subjected to a wrong, but a sound principle of apportionment to be violated, at the dictate of the slaveholders. But this is not all.

Each State was by the law to be entitled to one representative for a fraction, exceeding by a fraction the moiety of the ratio adopted. The ratio of 70,680 would give a fraction to South Carolina of 39.502, a little more than the required moiety, and to Ohio 35,185, just 155 less than the moiety, thus securing an additional representative to the former, and preventing an additional representative to the latter. Was not that ingenious?

Again: while the ratio of 70,680 increased the amount of unrepresented population nearly 50,000, and produced a difference of nearly 100,000 in the unrepresented fractions, against the free States, it deprived these States of four representatives, without thereby adding any and solute strength to the representation from the slave States. In other words, the ratio of 70,000. if adopted, would not only have left the unrepresented population at 48,000 less than the ratio of 70,680, but it would have added four representatives to the non-slaveholding, and taken away not one representative from the slaveholding States! See the table. New York, Pennsylvania, Massasachusetts, and Ohio, instead of having unrepresented fractions of 25,799, 27,687, 20,899, and 35,185, respectively, would have had fractions large enough to entitle them each to an additional representative. Could this have been accom-plished only by increasing the total amount of unrepresented fractions, or by reducing the representative strength of the slaveholding States, or indeed of any other State, there might have been a serious question as to its justice. But, as no other State would have lost a single representative, as the representation from the slaveholding States would have been untouched, and, as the total amount of unrepresented population would have been less, under this ratio of 70,000, its rejection, and the adoption of the 70,680 ratio, was a gross violation of Democratic Principle, and a positive act of injustice to Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, instigated by the same spirit which is endeavoring to exclude free labor

### For the National Era. THE POET'S TASK.

from the rich free territories acquired from

BY AUGUSTINE DUGANNE.

Mexico.

What is the Poet's task? To tear the grave-clothes from the buried Ages—
To lift the mighty curtain of the Past,
And 'mid the war that old Opinion wages,
Deal out his warnings like a trumpet-blast—
This is the Poet's task!

Thank God for Light! aised be the Source of mortal might and being, That He hath stripp'd the veil from off our eye Now, in the blessed consciousness of seeing, Man may gaze upward to the glorious skies, With a strong sight.

The strong right arm, the mighty limbs of iron,
The hand embrown'd by graupling with its toil,—
The eyes which on the perils that environ,
Gaze from the honest soul that bears no soil,—
These are its slient voice:—

Silent—but, O, how deep!

Rousing the world to wrestle with its curses,
Speaking the hope of Freedom to the earth
Vulcan-like stand again those from nurses,
To give the panoplied Minerva birth,
From her long, deathlike sleep!

Read me, ye schoolmen, now—
Read me the riddle which our Samson showeth—
"Out of the Strong comes Sweetness," once again!
Lo! from the brute now strengthening honey floweth
Meat for the suffering souls of famished men!—
"This the world's riddle now!

Forth shall the nations start! Labor is calling on the heart and spirit— Labor is casting all its gyves away: Labor the garland and the sheaf shall merit:— Break thou upon my sight, O, glorious day! Bless thou the Poet's heart!

## THE TRIUMPH.

By recurring to the Congressional proceed-

ings, our readers will see that the Slave Power sustained a signal defeat, in its outrageous attempt to force upon Congress the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, at the hazard of defeating the Oregon bill. The bill, with the Anti-Slavery provision of the Ordinance of 1787, passed both Houses, received the signature of the President, and has become a law. The Compromise which the Senate had fastened to it was non-concurred in by the House, only four members from the non-slaveholding States sustaining it. The motion to recede in the Senate was carried by a vote of 29 to 24-not a vote from a free State being in the negative, while Messrs. Benton, Houston, and Spruance, from the Slave States, voted in the affirmative. Of the individual members of the Senate who deserve special credit for this great result, Mr. Benton is entitled to the first place. He has nobly redeemed his pledge to the people of Oregon, and the country owes both him and General Houston honor, for the stern indignation with which they rebuked the mad cry of Disunion raised by the ultra

But beyond all doubt, the ultimate cause of this grand result is to be found in the great movement of the Free Soil party, especially as exhibited in the recent proceedings in Buffalo. That movement, those proceedings, were signs not to be mistaken, of political death to every representative of a free State who should dare betray the cause of Freedom in Congress.

slaveholders in the Senate.

This triumph is the more gratifying and decisive, when it is considered that it is the deliberate veto of the Federal Government upon all the absurd doctrines recently broached concerning the want of power in Congress to legislate for the Territories, and to prohibit slavery in them by positive law-that, after a discussion extensive, thorough, elaborate, running irregularly through a session of eight months and a half. the policy of the founders of the Government, and the principles of 1776, in the face of the most formidable opposition, have been reaffirmed, and one more precedent, most conclusive in its character, has been added to the long list in maintenance of the power and duty of Congress to exclude slavery from United States territory.

But, after all, the engagement which has terminated so favorably, is but a skirmish, compared with the great struggle which is to take place on the question concerning the disposition of the remaining territories. Half promises have already been given by compromising members from the free States, of concessions on this question to slavery; and the President has announced the only terms on which Congress is at liberty to legisonly terms on which Congress is at liberty to legislate on the question. The meditated treason to the cause of Freedom on the part of certain Western and Northern Senators, may be learned from the following disclosure by Mr. Senator Foots, made in a communication published in the Washington Union of last Wednesday week. Speaking of the proceedings on the Oregon question, he says:

"When Sunday had passed away, and Monday where Sunday had passed away, and Monday is the introduction of slavery into territories now free from it. They also asked my consent to the use

"When Sunday had passed away, and Monday morning was in progress, the Senate was again in session. Southern men had reflected well upon all that had occurred. Southern Democrats had conferred together. They bore in mind that Northern Democrats, in both Houses of Congress, had been austaining the constitutional rights of the South, and been laboring to secure rights of the South, and been laboring to secure our safety, when Northern Whigs, to a man, had proved hostile, and even Southern men had shown themselves unmindful or regardless of Southern interests. They recollected that explicit assurance had been given us by the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. Douglas,] with his own characteristic manliness, that he and his friends would again unite with Southern men next winter, as they had done already in the sersion of Congress now closed, to bring about such a compromise, as to the Territories of New Mexico and California, as that for which we had been contending. We knew that Dickinson, and Douglas, and Hannegan, and Bright, and Sturgeon, and Cameron, and other good and true Depacents from the North in both Houses of Congress, would still be with us. We resolved to trust to the assurances of our brethren who have already, in so many ferce encounters, praced themselves worthy of confidence; and accordingly, when on Monday moraing the Senate again assembled at nine o'clock, and a motion was made to suspend the 17th joint rule of the two Houses, which prohibits the presentation of a bill or joint recolution to the Persident for his agreement on the last

against the slave States; in the latter, it | rule the Oregon bill could not have become a law when, as Mr. Calhoun emphatically observed on that occasion, the bill stood defeated according to parliamentary rules; when all acknowledged that it was completely at the mercy of the South, we resolved, on full consultation, and on the assurances above mentioned, to spare it; and, after an attempt or two to amend the resolution, I was authorized to rise in my place and announce that all further opposition would be relinquished, and thus the Oregon bill did become a law. This is the sum and substance of what occurred on that

Recollect, this aid is calculated on from the Cass Senators and Representatives, and yet advocates of General Cass at the North are insisting

that his election will secure the exclusion of slavery in the new territories! Won't the good People read him and his partisans a lesson? Elect Van Buren, and there

## will be an end to such duplicity and treachery. MR. VAN BUREN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

We take great pleasure in laying this impo tant letter before our readers. Its force of reasoning, clearness of statement, elevation of sentiment and genuine eloquence, will command general admiration. The explanations accompanying his adhesion to the Buffalo Platform we receive as satisfactory.—Ed. Era.

New York, August 16, 1848. SIR: As a Committee of the National Free Soil Convention, lately held at Buffalo, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, we have the honor to apprize you of your nomination, by the Convention, for the first of these offices, and to solicit your acceptance thereof.

The causes which led to the assembling of this

The causes which led to the assembling of this Convention are known to you as matters of public history; but no one not personally present can form an adequate conception of its character, still less of the unanimity and enthusiasm which distinguished its proceedings.

All the Free States, three of the Slaveholding States, and the District of Columbia, were represented. In some cases, the delegates from a single State amounted to several thousands; the whole number in attendance was variously estiwhole number in attendance was variously esti-mated at from 20,000 to 40,000, or even more. Individually, the members represented differ-

ent, and, in many cases, antagonistic interests and opinions. Many had for years belonged to the Democratic or Whig parties; a large portion was identified with a third party, having already candidates for President and Vice President in mination, while smaller bodies were the expo nents of principles maintained by other organization tions; in a word, the diversified and conflicting opinions upon political subjects, held by such of our people as have rejected the nominations of the late Baltimore and Philadelphia Conventions, were more or less numerously represented in this vast assemblage, by persons living, in many cases, thousands of miles apart, but now brought together by sympathy in one sentiment, and by union in one resolve—opposition to the farther extension of Human Slavery, and the determination to preserve for the freemen of this and other tion to preserve for the freemen of this and other lands the Free Territories of the United States. Notwithstanding the tendency to disorder, inherent in a body so multitudinous and peculiar, its proceedings were were marked by the utmost order, decorum, and solemnity. Its unanimity in the selection of candidates was equally remarka-ble. Upon an informal vote in the Nominating Committee, you received a majority of all the votes; whereupon you were nominated unanimously, and by acclamation. The candidate for Vice President was selected in like manner, with out the formality of a previous vote. Both nominations were confirmed by the Mass Convention, unanimously, and with the greatest enthusiasm.

The Convention also effected what, but for its accomplishment, might justly have been deemed still more impracticable—the settlement of a Plat-form of Principles, including, besides the great question on which its members were agreed, kindred questions of much importance and difficulty on which there existed serious diversity of sentiment, and embracing also every other subject of national interest, likely to come before the country, during the next four years.

The duty of entering upon such a work was

forced on us by the obvious reflection, that in administering the Federal Government, these various arily be met : and it seeme due to our fellow-citizens, as well as necessary to our own action, that the sense of the Convention should, if possible, be collected and expresse

Contrary, almost as much to our hopes as to our fears, a Platform, of which a copy is herewith our rears, a Platform, or which a copy is herewith communicated, was proposed and reported, with-out a dissenting veice, by a committee fairly rep-resenting the whole body, and was afterward, with like unanimity, and with the strongest tokens of approbation, ratified by the Mass Con-

vention.

From the nature of some of the topics embraced in this paper, as well as from the composition of the Convention, it will readily occur to you that the unanimity with which it was adopted was due ed every borom, and which induced all classes to avoid the assertion of extreme opinions, and to make to each other every allowable concession necessary to a vigorous coöperation in the great purpose for which we had assembled. Persuaded that the document will be considered by you in the same spirit, we wast that, in like manner, it will secure your approval; and that it will, therefore, be agreeable to your personal feelings, and to your sense of public duty, to yield to the wishes of the Convention.

With yourself and your associate as their

standard-bearers, the Free Democracy of the North and of the South, of the East and of the West, strong in the justice of their cause, and unterrified by opposing influences, will rush forward in the path of duty, assured that their candidates will receive such a support from the wise and the good, from the patriots and philanthropists of our country, as forever to protect the Free Soil of the Republic from the calamity and the

curse of Human Bondage.

Asking a reply at your earliest convenience, we are, with high respect and esteem, your obedi-S. P. CHASE.

Hon. MARTIN VAN BUREN, Lindenwald, New York.

LINDENWALD, August 22, 1848 GENTLEMEN: I have had the honor to receive

your letter, giving me official information of the proceedings of the Buffalo Convention. The composition, character, and proceedings of that body, as described by you, and the concessions of feeling, and, to some extent, of opinions also, on the part of its members, which enabled them to unite their exertions upon a common, and, to the country, a vitally important question, show it to have been governed by a pure and lofty patriotism, and demand from me a grateful acknowledgment for the expression of confidence you have ommunicated.

My position, in regard to the Presidential elec-

tion, is a peculiar one; and it is due to me that the knowledge of it should be coextensive with that of every material step I take in the canvass. In 1844 I announced my determination to con-In 1844 I announced my determination to continue in retirement for the rest of my life; and my earnest desire to do so has been undiminished and invariable, from that moment to the present. I declined, respectfully but explicitly, numerous offers from friends in other States, to promote my nomination at the late Baltimore Convention; and, in the same spirit, refused permission to the New York delegates to present my name to that body, under any circumstances whatsoever.

the introduction of slavery into territories now free from it. They also asked my consent to the use of my name, by the Convention, as its candidate for the Presidency. I cheerfully gave them the opinions they desired, but declined the last request absolutely. That they sincerely desired to respect my wishes in this regard, I have never doubted. But the Convention were of opinion, the state of the convention were of doubted. But the Convention were of opinion, that the use of my name was necessary, as well to enable the Democracy of New York to carry forward, with a reasonable prospect of ultimate success, the great principle for which they contended, as to sustain themselves in the axtraordinary position to which they had been driven by the injustice of others; and that the relations which had so long existed between us gave them a right to to use it, not only without my consent, but against my known wishes. Entertaining these views, they decided to nominate me, and omitted to give me the usual notice of their proceedings.

The reasons why I did not feel at liberty to interpose any further obstacles to their wishes. interpose any further obstacles to their wishes have been given to the public, and need not be re-

hays been given to the public, and need not be to be peated.

It is in this form that my name, as a candidate for the Precidency, has been brought before the People. Occupying this position, I shall feel my self honored by the support of an assemblage so enlightened and patriotic, and so devoted to the maintenance of the great principle we contend for, as that in whose behalf you have addressed me.

I have examined and considered the platform

adopted by the Buffalo Convention, as defining the political creed of the "Free Democracy," with the attention due to the grave subjects which it embraces, and the interesting circumstances under which it is presented. It breathes the right spirit, and presents a political chart which, with the explanations I am about to make, I can, in good faith, adopt and sustain.

In regard to the chief topic of the resolutions, it is not to be doubted, that the present unprece-

In regard to the chief topic of the resolutions, it is not to be doubted, that the present unprecedented movement of the public mind in the non-slaveholding States, upon the subject of slavery, is caused mainly by an earnest desire to uphold and enforce the policy, in regard to it, established by the founders of the Republic. That policy, in addition to the prospective prohibition of the foreign slave trade, was—

1. Adequate, efficient, and certain security was the extension of slavery into territories.

against the extension of slavery into territories where it did not practically exist;

where it did not practically exist;

2. That, in the language of your own condensed and excellent resolution, "Slavery, in the several States of this Union which recognise its existence, should depend upon State laws, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Fovernment; and
3. A spirit of considerate forbearance towards

the institution, in localities where it was placed

under the control of Congress.

By a wise observance of this policy, we have, until recently, been enabled to neutralize the injurious tendencies of an element of discord, more difficult to deal with than any to which our free difficult to deal with than any to which our free institutions are exposed. But, anhappily for the present harmony, and possibly for the future welfare, of our beloved country, a pretension has been recently set up by our brethren of the slaveholding States, in regard to the first branch of this policy, so inadmissible upon principle, and so revolting to our feelings, as to produce a rush of public sentiment towards the point of resistance which with a population so considerate. rush of public sentiment towards the point of resistance, which, with a population so considerate and so staid as ours, is never seen, except when a conviction exists that the honor and safety of the country are at stake, and then, always. A train of occurrences, all tending to the same general end, which have for a few years past followed each other in rapid succession, has raised this feeling to an elevation hitherto unknown, and produced resolves which it is not in the power of individuals to induce the people to recede from. The constitutionality, the justice, the humanity, and the expediency of the ground they have taken, are all so clear as to preclude the possibility of a continued diversity of opinion or action in the non-slaveholding States.

of a continued diversity of opinion or action in the non-slaveholding States.

The consequences that may result from this conflict of opinion between us and those who are, unhappily, our opponents—if their pretensions are persisted in—are known only to that omniscient and kind Providence which has hitherto protected our country and its institutions from the dangers which have threatened them.

The claim set up by our Southern brethren is a departure from the platform raised by our common ancestors, at a period when the chain of our

mon ancestors, at a period when the chain of our Union was the brightest, and the fraternal feeling between the States that composed it, the strong-est. It comes upon the back of a series of events well calculated to awaken, at the North, that deep, and, as it respects ourselves, overwhelming sen-sation in the public mind, to which I have re-

ferred. A brief review of them, at a moment so critical, cannot fail to be useful.

The future condition of the respective States, in regard to the probable continuance or abolition of slavery, were correctly seen at the formation of the Government. Those of the Old Thirteen which are now exempt from it, acted under a confident anticipation that they would soon become so; whilst those of the number where slavery still exists, could not look forward to an equally favorable result in regard to themselves. It was therefore well understood, at the adoption of the Constitution, that although a large and highly respectable portion of the members of the Constitution, that although a large and highly respectable portion of the members of the Consederacy would probably for a long, certainly for an indefinite period, remain slaveholding States, a majority of the States would be non-slaveholding; and that a constitutional magnature in the and that a constitutional preponderance in the Federal Government would be thus secured to

To make assurance of this result doubly sure the slaveholding States themselves were prominently active in a measure—the Ordinance of 1787—by which six new States were first designed to be, and five actually were, arrayed on the same side. These, added to the seven in which same side. These, added to the seven in which slavery had been or was expected to be abolished, would make the division in this regard, twelve to six. The evidence we possess of the circumstances and dispositions of the times warrants us in that this difference in the respective conditions of the States, in regard to slavery, would ever be overcome or neutralized, by the accession to the Confederacy of new slaveholding States. Yet, in the brief period which has elapsed—we may well say brief, when viewed in connection with such great results—we have witnessed the addition of nine slaveholding and only three non-slaveholding States to the Confederacy, beyond those which were provided for before the adoption of the Constitution, making them to stand fifteen to fifteen. The preponderance originally secured to the non-slaveholding States, and with the knowledge of which they assisted in investing the institution of slavery in the States with the privileges and guaranties of the Constitution, has thus been annihiliated. These facts cannot be controverted or concealed; and when once fully understood and appreciated by the people fully understood and appreciated by the people of the non-slaveholding States, they must have a controlling influence over their future course. The emotions they have already excited ought

in any quarter.

But this is not the only, nor even the most repulsive view which we are compelled to take of the present pretensions of our brethren of the slaveholding States. Slavery is now presented in a livery which it never wore before. On every in a livery which it never wore before. On every previous occasion, when there has been a conflict of opinion in regard to it, the question has only been, how far the policy of 1787 should be carried out, by prohibiting or restricting the extension of slavery in territory which was, at the time, subject to its introduction. Most of the territory of the United States which was thus situated, save the State of Iowa, which was excepted by the Missouri Compromise, has been converted into slave States, and admitted into the Union as such. Now, for the first time, the attempt is made, to permit the introduction of sla very into territories which are now free from itvery into territories which are now free from it— territories from which it was expelled within the last fiftgen or twenty years, by the express and solemn act of their former Government and peo-ple—a Government and people with whom, in re-spect to the attributes of freedom, ours could not

Nor is this its only or its worst feature. In annexing to our Union Texas, an extensive slave State, covering an area capable of being formed into many more such States, we became involved in a war with Mexico, which claimed continued dominion over that State. The territories in regard to which the question is now made, are among the conquests of this war. It is therefore, in effect, whatever may have been the original objects of the war, an appeal to the inhabit ants of the non-slaveholding States, to sanction the extension, through our instrumentality, of slavery into territories which the United States have, in fact, acquired by the sword, but which others had

into territories which the United States have, in fact, acquired by the sword, but which others had relieved from that great evil. Such a proposition need only to be stated, to insure its prompt rejection by the non-slaveholding States.

Upon what grounds is it attempted to sustain a principle so repugnant to our feelings, so destructive, in our view, to our national character, and so well calculated, if successful, to gloud the glory of this great Republic? That there should be diversities of opinion and feeling upon the subject of slavery between us and our Southern brethren, is certainly natural.

be diversities of opinion and feeling upon the subject of slavery between us and our Southern brethren, is certainly natural.

The strength of Northern aversion to the institution has been recently very truly stated on the floor of the Senate, by a very distinguished Southern statesman. The people of the North could not overcome this aversion if they would; and they cannot desire to do so, because they religiously believe that the highest earthly interests of man are hased on its permanency and ultimate universality. At the South the feeling is very different, because the culture of their minds and dispositions, and the force of habit, have had an opposite tendency. This known, and for a season, at least, incurable diversity of opinion and feeling, should beget a spirit of conciliation, and inculcate mutual forbearance in speech and action. This duty has doubtless been occasionally lost sight of, on both sides; but it cannot be denied that the departure from it has been greatest on the part of our Southern brethren.

No one will venture to insist that it is, at this day, either expedient or right to originate slavery in territories that are free from it, if it can be properly prevented. But it is insisted that this cannot be done in the case under consideration, and in the form proposed—first, because the Constitution does not give Congress the power to prohibit slavery in the territories; and that, consequently, the great number of acts for that consequently, the great number of acts for that purpose which have been passed for the last sixty years, with general assent, were but so many infractions of the Constitution.

such difficulties must be solved by appeals to the tests provided by the Constitution. For the rectitude of our motives, and the correctness of our conduct, we are responsible, on earth, to the opinion of the civilized world, and hereafter to a Pow-

ion of the civilized world, and hereafter to a Power that is greater and wiser than all.

The question of constitutionality, the gravest of all objections that can be made against a public measure, has just passed through the ordeal of public discussion, and the doctrine in question has been so thoroughly rejected and condemned by the voice of the nation, that it is no longer negative and world in graphing it.

cessary to spend words in refuting it.

Two circumstances have, however, occurred, which, though not necessary to its overthrow, give to that overthrow a sanction that entitles them to to that overthrow a sanction that entitles them to notice. It now appears that, twenty-eight years since, at the time of the Missouri Compromise, Mr. Monroe, then President, a slaveholder, and elected from a slaveholding State, submitted this very question, save only that it was then applied to slave territory, to a Cabinet composed, among other great men, of such giant intellects from the slaveholding States as Crawford, Calhoun, and Wirk, the latter the law officer of the Government: that they were unanimously of opinion ment; that they were unanimously of opinion that Congress did possess the power in question; and that the then President, a man who was on the scene of action when the Constitution was formed, concurring in that opinion, approved the bill. The documents which attest these interestone coronness are before the country, and every one will judge for himself of their claims to credence, considered in connection with what has been said upon the subject by the survivor of the

Cabinet referred to.

To bring the matter nearer to our own times, within a few days, upon the very heel of the recent discussions upon this point, a bill containing this restriction—the very bill which has, in part produced this discussion—has passed both branches of the National Legislature, and received the constitutional approval of the present Executive— an approval which it was his sworn duty to withan approval which it was his sworn duty to with-hold, if he had not been satisfied that all the pro-visions of the bill were in conformity to the Con-stitution. The present President, also a slave-holder, elected from a slaveholding State, with a large portion of his Cabinet in the same situation, has given the highest sanction to the doctrine we contend for that is known to our institutions; and, although he felt himself called upon to make an extra message, setting forth his reasons for believing that the restriction ought not to be applied to our Mexican territories, he does not take the slightest notice of the constitutional objection on which so many Southern States had based their opposition to the general measure. This branch of the subject has been thus, and we hope forever,

It is further contended, that slaves are so far It is further contended, that slaves are so far to be regarded as property, as to authorize their owners to carry them into any of the territories, and to hold them there, notwithstanding any act which Congress may pass upon the subject. If Congress have the constitutional power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, its laws place the subject on the same footing there as the State laws do in the States. As well, therefore, might the slaveholder contend that he can bring his slaves into a State which prohibits slavery, as that he can bring them into territories where slavery is prohibited by Congress. If his slave runs away, and enters one of the non-slaveholding States, he does not thereby become free, but shall be delivered up, upon the claim of the person entitled to his services. But this is not in consequence of the recognition of the right of propertitled to his services. But this is not in consequence of the recognition of the right of property in such person, notwithstanding the State laws, but in virtue of an express article of the Constitution, which constitutes one of its compromises upon the subject of slavery. This view of the matter was placed in a clear light in the recent debates, by one of the oldest and most distinguished members of the Senate, when he insisted that the claim, on the part of the slaveholders, though nominally to remove their property, was

that the claim, on the part of the slaveholders, though nominally to remove their property, was, in reality, to transport their laws into the territories. One has, therefore, only to imagine a Territory governed by the various and conflicting laws of thirty independent States, to appreciate the absurdity of the pretension.

But it is insisted that the prohibition carries with it a reproach to the slaveholding States, and that submission to it would degrade them. This is obviously the principal, if not the material, ground of opposition to the measure that is persisted in; and most assuredly, if it were well founded, we would have no just ground to take exception to the earnestness with which it is sustained. Let the objection, therefore, be fairly and dispassionately considered. Very erroneous opinions of the dispositions of the Northern people are entertained by those who think them caopinions of the dispositions of the Northera people are entertained by those who think them capable of desiring the degradation of any of the States of the Confederacy, whether they be slaveholding or otherwise. They entertain too enlightened a sense of their own inferests; they have too just a conception of the true glory of the Confederacy, and of the extent to which the humiliation of a part would tarnish the lustre of the whole; and they are, above all, too national in their feelings, not to cherish a deep solicitude for the honor and welfare of all its members. If they could, therefore, believe that the success of this measure would draw after it such grave constaints and they are such a tendency, it will certainly not be owing to any want of generality in its application.

The restriction will, of course, be obligatory on all who settle in the Territories, from whatever state or country they may have emigrated. They

the boundarding States, and will be boune and wellers of all its numbers. If the control is the substitute of which they maked in investment of the boundard of the control in the substitute of the control in the control of the cont

ment, be offered. The measure is right in itself; and what is right may always bedone with ultimate relation towards the severy extensive territories, in which the sages of 1787 stood towards the North-towards the severy extensive territories, in which the sages of 1787 stood towards the North-towards the seep control of the public lands to actual settlers should hereafter for day, will follow the labors and perpetuate the morel so f those by whom it is now upheld. The sixth resolution embraces the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia; and I observe in it a generality of expression, in respect to the time when, and the circumstances under which, it was the opinion of the Convention that it should be abolished, which has not been usual on the part of the friends of immediate action. Most reflecting find philanthropic minds live in the hope that they will one day see slavery abolished, not only in that District, but in the States, also; in the latter, through the agency of the State Governments, to whom the Constitution wisely leaves exclusive power in the matter, and in the former by Congress. I may be mistaken, but I think I see in the guarded language of the resolution, evidence of an apprehension, on the part of the Convention, that a difference in opinion, to some extent at least, existed among it ment to the toward the series upon the point referred to, and of an entiphene and truly patrictic resolve not to suffer that circumstance, if it existed, to weaken the moral power of their unanimity on the great to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia has been repeatedly avowed, as well when a candidate as whilst President; and every day's reflection that circumstance, if it existed, to weaken the moral power of their unanimity on the great to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia has been repeatedly avowed, as well when a candidate as whilst President; and every day's reflection that the means for these purposes should be raised by a point in ferror the power of Congress. I have deemed it du

has but served to conrm my conviction of its correctness. I at the same time expressed myself strongly against the expediency of exercising it; and, in a recent letter to the New York delegation at Utica, I referred to my continued opposition to that measure. The subject was only incidentally introduced, and there was, consequently, but little care taken in regard to the terms in which the research was replaced.

which the suggestion was made.

The form of expression which I employed has, it appears, led many honest and intelligent men to assume that the remark related exclusively to the past, and was not intended to convey my pres-

the past, and was not intended to convey my present views on the matter. This construction, though perhaps not unwarranted by the words employed, is in fact erroneous; and it is due to truth, to fair dealing, and to all who take an interest in the matter, that the subject should now be placed in its true light.

It is not to be denied that many of the reasons which, in 1837 and before, operated to produce the convictions I then expressed, no longer exist; and if, when writing to the New York delegation at Utica, I could have anticipated what has since occurred, I should have felt it my duty to discriminate between the reasons which had passed away. occurred, I should have left it my duty to discriminate between the reasons which had passed away, and those which yet remain. But when my letter to them was written, nothing could have been further from my expectations than that I should ever again be a candidate for the Presidency; and, of course, it was not my intention to say what my conduct would be, on this or any other matter, if again an incumbent of that place.

again an incumbent of that place.

I have spoken, in a former part of this letter, of the three leading features of the policy, in regard to slavery, adopted by the fathers of the Republic. History, if true, must record the fact, that the North has hitherto faithfully sustained her part in the maintenance of this relian variety and in order. part in the maintenance of this policy, and in none more so than in that which inculcates forbearance on the point now referred to. I wish to see the forbearance which has so long characterized her conduct in this matter still farther continued. Approving of the platform which the Convention has adopted, and conscious, from my impressions of right and duty in regard to it, that I shall be among the last to abandon it, I prefer not to connect our efforts to sustain it with an issue which all must admit to be, in some degree at least, affected by different considerations.

adhere to that rule, and leave the whole matter in the hands of the People, with whose disposition of it all should be, and I certainly will be, satised.
I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your friend
M. VAN BUREN. BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, JOSEPH L. WHITE, AND SALMON P. CHASE, Esquires, Committee of Buffalo Convention.

### MR. ADAMS'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

We have also received Mr. Adams's letter of acceptance. The course is now clear. Both candidates have cordially assented to the Platform, and accepted the nominations.

NEW YORK, August 16, 1848.

Sir: We have the honor to inform you, that, after you left the chair of the National Free Soil Convention, lately held at Buffalo, and of which to solicit your acceptance of such nomination. Your personal knowledge of the objects, char acter, and proceedings of the Convention, super-sedes the necessity of saying anything, in this place, upon either of these points; and we trust, also, that a simple reference to the unexampled unanimity and enthusiasm with which its princi-

ples were proclaimed, and its candidates selected will be a sufficient argument to induce you to ac cept the nomination you received.

While each of the undersigned cordially unites in this sentiment, it is due to the State of Ohio, represented by one of them, that he should especially express it, since the selection of a candidat for the Vice Presidency was, in the first instance, accorded to that State; thus making you, in a peculiar sense, her nominee on the ticket proposed by the Convention to the American People.

We are, sir, with high respect and es your obedient servants,
J. L. WHITE, S. P. CHASE, Committee, &c. Hon. CHARLES F. ADAMS,

Quincy, Massachusetts. QUINCY, August 22, 1848. Gentlemen: I have just received your official letter, apprizing me of the great honor done me by the Convention which you represent, in nominating me as its candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, and also soliciting

my acceptance of the nomination.

In reply, permit me to say that it had been my hope and my expectation to be able to act in the present canvass as one of the humblest, but not of the least earnest and devoted servants of the great h we are engaged cause in which we are engaged; but since it has
pleased my fellow-laborers, and especially the noble representatives of the great State of Ohio, to
whom in your letter you particularly allude, to
call upon me, most unexpectedly to myself, to
stand in the front ranks of the contest; since it
is their will, unequivocally expressed, that I
should be their candidate for the second office in

should be their cannot have for the second omics in the Union, I am not the man to refuse to acknow-ledge the obligation, or to shrink by a moment's hesitation from the post, not less of duty than of honor, to which they assign me. I accept most honor, to which they assign me. I accept most oheerfully of the nomination.

The fathers of the Republic, nurtured in the great school of Liberty opened by the Reformation, aimed to illustrate, by a practical example in America, the excellence of their cherished theory of government. To the general success of their experiment, commenced in 1776, and carried forward in 1789, a lapse of more than half a century has borne witness.

theory of government. To the general success of their experiment, commenced in 1776, and carried forward in 1789, a lapse of more than half a century has borne witness.

But, unfortunately, the same period has also developed the existence of an adverse influence, incautiously admitted at the outset, which has thus far done much to qualify the beneficial results which have been attained from it.

That which at first seemed only a deflection from the path of justice, in favor of vested rights and a privileged class, has, by degrees, shown itself to be so wide a divergency that the only choice now left to the People of the United States is either to turn back, or else, by going farther forward, yoluntarily to abandon the principles with which their fathers started. The alternative is clearly presented, of the extension of Slavery over the whole breadth of the North American Continent, or the maintenance of the fundamental doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. The two things cannot coexist in the United States. Regret it as we may, we can neither evade nor refuse the issue made up for us. Not to accept it is equivalent, in my mind, to deserting a great moral, social, and political truth, at a moment when every known rule of human duty would seem to demand the camplete establishment of it over the minds of a free People.

With these feelings, I have read, again and again, the Platform of Principles laid down by the Buffalo Convention. I hall it as the signal of return to the path of the revolutionary patriots, as the era of advance in the theory of Free Democracy.

There are now but two living antagonist principles in the politics of the United States: the one which shelters itself under the cover of human force, and the other which draws its vitality from human reason and human sympathy. To all those who have confidence in the capacity of man for self-government, it must be a source of great satisfaction to helieve that the period when the last of these principles will triumph in the United states is rapidl

or ill will toward the individual members of the losing side. The slaveholding section of the Union merits our sympathy, even while the aggressive policy meets with the firmest resistance. For the time may yet come when those who now regard the declarations of the Buffalo Platform as a vindictive assault upon their dearest interests, will construe them rather to be the preservation of their highest moral and political rights. Ours is not a contest with geographically defined sections of country, nor with organized communities of men. It is a struggle to sustain principles of inestimable value in every land, of general application wherever society is established.

Success with us is the synonym only of that extension of the greatest blessings which good governor.

Success with us is the synonym only of that extension of the greatest blessings which good government can most certainly be expected to confer upon the human race. As such, we hall its approach, not so much for the good it may do to us, as to all those who may now regard it as portending nething but injury to themselves.

I am gentlemen, with sentiments of the highest respect, your obedient servant,

CHARLES F. ADAMS. BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, JOSEPH L. WHITE, and Salmon P. Chase, Esquires, Committee of Buffalo Convention.

# THE FEELING OF MEXICO.

It will be seen by the following extracts of one of Mr. Trist's letters to Mr. Buchanan, dated September 4th, 1847, that the Mexicans not only understood the project of forcing slavery into the territory sought to be acquired from them, but viewed it with an abhorrence which strangely contrasts with the pro-slavery proclivity of this model Republic:

lyrics which our literature can boast of. It is from the pen of James Russell Lowell, a true

I.

O dwellers in the valley-land,
Who in deep twilight grope and cower,
Till the slow mountain's dial-hand
Shortens to noon's triumphal hour—
While ve sit idle, do ye think
The Lord's great work sits idle too?
That light dare not o'erleap the brink
Of morn, because 'tis dark with you?

Though yet your valleys skulk in night, In God's ripe fields the day is cried. And reapers, with their sickles bright, Troop, singing, down the mountain side: Come up and feel what health there is In the frank Dawn's delighted eyes, As, bending with a pitying kiss, The night-shed tears of Earth she dries!

The Lord wants reapers: O, mount up,
Before night comes, and says, "Too late!"
Stay not for taking serip or cup,
The Master hungers while ye wait:
'Tis from these heights alone your eyes
The advancing spears of day can 'ee,
Which o'er the eastern hill-tops rise,
To break your long captivity.

Lone watcher on the mountain-height! It is right precious to behold The first long surf of climbing light Flood all the thirsty east with gold; But we, who in the shadow sit, Know also when the day is nigh, Seeling thy shining forchead lit With his inspiring prophecy.

Thou hast thine office, we have ours;
God lacks no: early service here,
But what are thine eleventh hours
He counts with us for morning che
One day for Him, is long enough,
And when He giveth work to do,
The bruised reed is amply tough
To pierce the shield of error throu

But not the less do thou aspire Light's earlier messaces to preach;
Keep back no syllable of fire—
Finnge deep the rowels of 'hy speech.
Yet God deems not thine aeried sight
More worthy than our twilight dim—
For meek obelience, too, is light,
And following that, is finding Him.

AMERICAN LITERATURE ABROAD.—The questi which a British reviewer so arrogantly raised ome years ago, " Who reads an American book?" has lately been answered in a way not very flattering to the slaveholding portion of our countrymen. The eloquent and touching narrative of you were President, we were appointed a Committee to apprize you that you had been nominated, by the Convention, as its candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, and in the new Republic.

> The following paragraph we copy from the Cellowsville Democrat, an excellent political paper, published in Fellowsville, Preston county, Virginia, by S. Heermans. We republish it, not on account of the kind terms in which it is pleased to speak of the Era, but as corroborating strongly what we have always assumed, that, to a highly spectable portion of the citizens of the South, the discussion of the subject of slavery is by no means offensive, so long as it is conducted temperately, with an ardent desire to do justice to all

"THE NATIONAL ERA.—This high-minded, dispassionate journal is to us a welcome weekly visiter. Although Anti-Slavery in politics, its articles are nevertheless made readable to the South by the candor, the moderation, the wise discrimition to that bullying rant which is so generally employed against the principle of Slavery."

### SEVEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

The Britannia arrived at Halifax on Thursday night, at 12 o'clock, and left for Boston at 3 A. M. on Friday, arrived at her wharf at 1 P. M. on Saturday, making the passage in fourteen days. The Acadia passed the Britannia at 7 A.M. on Friday, about 40 miles west of Halifax. The Niagara made the passage home in 10 days and

IRELAND. Aftairs in Ireland have not materially changed, though every day seems to lessen the probability of any serious outbreak. That this unfortunate country is not now plunged into all the horrors of a civil war, is not to be attributed to the disin-

clination of the people to rise up in arms, but rather, it would seem, to the want of bold, able, and trusted leaders.

Mr. S. O'Brien was arrested on Saturday even-ing last, at the railroad station at Thales, whilst in the act of procuring a ticket for Limerick, where, it is said, he intended to have taken refuge among his friends. Immediately after his arrest, he was marched to Bridewell, and subsequently conveyed to Dublin, and lodged in Kilm

After O'Brien's arrest, he is said to have expressed himself satisfied of the hopelessness of ac-complishing his object, and that he was induced compaising his object, and that he was induced to leave his retreat in the mountains, because the farther he went, the more the people seemed to fear to harhor him. O'Brien is said to be cheerful, and his wife is allowed free access to him.

Other friends are permitted to converse with him in presence of the jail authorities.

There does not appear to have been any serious disturbance in any part of the country since the Cambria sailed; and, according to the English accounts, it seems quite impossible that there should be any, so long as the Government sustains its present attitude of repression. Numerous arrests continue to be made. We notice the names of Mr. Carn. Mr. Bergen, ship-broker: Mr. No. resis continue to be made. We notice the names of Mr. Carn, Mr. Bergen, ship-broker; Mr. Nolan, of the United States; Richard O'Gorman, for whose arrest £300 was offered; on attempting to escape from the country, he was arrested by the coast guard, after he had crossed the Shannon in an open boat. Notice was forthwith sent to the police; but before they arrived, O'Gorman had persuaded his captors that he was a mere traveller from Terry to Clare, and he was allowed to leave in his boat. He subsequently boarded a vessel bound down the Shannon and going to America, in which he has escaped. A war steamer has been dispatched after the vessel.

ENGLAND. ENGLAND.

During the last fortnight the weather has been very unsettled, in the southern counties especially. Not a day has passed without heavy rains. As the wheat has been out in various parts, this unseasonable weather not only retards harvest operations, but must, if it continues a few days longer, very materially affect the yield all over the country. As yet, however, no tendency to speculation has been exhibited.

If the potato crop should prove seriously injured both in England and Ireland, (and statements to this effect are rapidly multiplying.) the

jured both in England and Ireland, (and statements to this effect are rapidly multiplying.) the consequences would be very serious.

As a matter of course, the trade will continue to rule dull until continental affairs have settled, and the Irish agitation is completely subdued. Various and very conflicting rumors are affoat as to the existence and extent of the potato disease. It is admitted that the disease has made its appearance this year, but it is not believed that the plant has been injured to any serious extent.

Plant has been injured to any serious extent.

FRANCE.

The chief consideration in Paris at the present moment is the critical state of Northern Italy. Numerous diplomatic meetings have taken place in Paris, and Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, has stated that her Majesty's Government are deeply sensible of the great importance of seeing a termination put to that unfortunate warfare, and added, "I am able, although I have no right to speak for another Government, yet I believe I may assure the House that that desire is equally shared by the French Government.

"Her Majesty's ministers are therefore about, I may say, if not already engaged, to take steps in conjunction, I trust in conjunction with the Government of France, for the purpose of endeavoring, by amicable negotiation, to bring that warfare to an end."

The last journals from Paris are entirely occu-

deavoring, by amicable negotiation, to bring that warfare to an end."

The last journals from Paris are entirely occupied with the Italian question, and the funds have experienced a decline in consequence of its threatening aspect. Two thousand of the insurgents of June, sentenced to transportation, have been sent to Brest, L'Orient, &c., where they were to be confined until the Government should have fixed their destination. It is probable that their families will be allowed to them. An unsuccessful attempt was made, on the 5th instant, to assassinate M. Thiers. The shot intended for him was received by a little girl, who was seated at the gate opposite the dwelling of M. Thiers. A decree has been published, removing the suspension pronounced on the 27th June against twelve of the more radical journals.

The Prussiar capital still continues to be the scene of political cabal and excitement. The people are for the moment occupied with the renewal of the war with the Danes. The exact position which Prussia is to take in the newly concocted Cerman scheme of Government is not yet ascertained.

To We regard the following as one of the finest | cases have appeared at Berlin, all of which terminated fatally.

from the pen of James Russell Lowell, a true man and true poet, whose stirring appeals have contributed in no slight degree to awaken the slumbering North on the subject of slavery.

J. G. W.

ABOVE AND BELOW.

LOMBARDY.

Recent events in Lombardy have been rapid, decisive, and most unexpected. A fortnight ago, Charles Albert was a successful conqueror, almost all Lombardy was within his grasp—now the whole breadth of Lombardy has been retraced by the Piedmontese army, and Charles Albert, utterly defeated at every point, is either shut up in Milan, or perhaps has crossed the Ticono into his own dominions.

### VOTE BY BALLOT IN ENGLAND.

In the House of Commons, on the 9th instant, Mr. Henry Berkeley moved the following resolu-

"That it is expedient, in the election for memhers to serve in Parliament, that the votes of the electors be taken by way of ballot." This motion was supported by the mover, Col. Thompson, Mr. Cobden, Mr. P. Wood, Mr. Villiers, and others, and opposed by Lord John Rus-

The House divided, and the numbers were-For the motion - 86 Against it - - - -

Majority for . . -

The announcement was received with loud and prolonged cheers from the victorious party. GENERAL TAYLOR'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE NOMINATION AT CHARLESTON.

We publish to-day the official correspondence between the Chairman of the late Taylor Meeting in Charleston and General Taylor:

CHARLESTON, July 26, 1848. SIR: In conformity with the desire of my fellow-citizens, I have the honor, herewith, to transmit citizens, I have the honor, herewith, to transmit to you a newspaper containing an account of a very large meeting of the Democratic citizens of Charleston, South Carolina, held for the purpose of selecting you as their candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Over this meeting, the agreeable duty of presiding was assigned to me. The Preamble and Resolutions adopted at it so fully explain the views of my fellow-citizens as to need no comment from me. Permit me. as to need no comment from me. Permit me, however, on my part, to add, that with a confidence in that honesty and independence of purpose dence in that honesty and independence of purpose which you have exhibited in every position in which it has been your lot to serve your country, I entertain the fullest conviction that, should it be our good fortune the same and the same be our good fortune to see you elected to that high station, you will so administer the laws of our country, that each section of it will be pro-tected in the rights which it was intended by the framers of the Constitution should be guarantied to all, by that noble instrument, which can only prove inadequate when it is perverted by designing or misguided politicians.

I am, sir, with high consideration and respect, your obedient servant,

To General Z. Taylor.

BATON ROUGE, LA., August 9, 1848. SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 26th ultimo, officially announcing to me my nomination for the Presidency by a large meeting of the Democratic citizens of Charleston, South Carolina, held at that city on the 26th ultimo, and over which you was the presidency of fear

were the presiding officer.

This deliberate expression of the friendly feeling existing towards me among a large and re-spectable portion of the citizens of your distin-guished State, has been received by me with emo-tions of profound gratitude; and though it be but a poor return for such a high and unmerited but a poor return for such a high and unmerited honor, I beg them to accept my heartfelt thanks. Concluding that this nomination, like all others which I have had the honor of receiving from assemblages of my fellow-citizens in various parts of the Union, has been generously offered me, without pledges or conditions, it is thankfully accepted; and I beg you to assure my friends, in whose behalf you are acting, that, should it be my lot to fill the office for which I have been thus nominated it shall be my uncessing effort in the nominated, it shall be my unceasing effort, in the discharge of its responsible duties, to give satis-

faction to my countrymen

With the assurances of my high esteem, I have With the assurances of my mag. the honor to be your obedient servant, Z. TAYLOR.

To W. B. Pringle, Esq. above referred to, General Butler, the nominee of the Baltimore Convention, was nominated as Vice President, with General Taylor as President. By the following telegraphic despatch to the New York Tribune, it will be seen that Mr. Fillmore and the Whigs of Albany take it in high dudgeon, that General Taylor should accept the nomination of another party, with the name of the Democratic candidate substituted for that of Mr.

Fillmore. Possibly the Whigs, alarmed at the Free Soil lemonstrations in that State, hope, by casting Taylor overboard, to carry their State ticket; but it is too late.

By Telegraph to the New York Tribune. WHIG MEETING IN ALBANY-GENERAL TAY-LOR'S LETTER.

ALBANY, Saturday night, August 26. The Whig meeting called at the Capitol for the purpose of taking into consideration the course of General Taylor in accepting the South Carolina nomination, with General Butler as Vice President, was well attended. William Parmlee, Esq., presided, assisted by James Kidd, Esq., and others. Messrs. Lewis Benedict, jun., and J. T. Stephenson, were appointed Secretaries.

The letter of Mr. Pringle and the reply of General Taylor were read and the meeting was

The letter of Mr. Pringle and the reply of General Taylor were read, and the meeting was then eloquently addressed by Messrs. John A. Collier, Henry B. Haswell, Judge Carpenter of Otsego, Lewis Benedict, jun., &c., all of whom spoke indignantly in denunciation of the course adopted by General Taylor, as insulting to Mr. Fillmore and to the Whigs of the North.

A Committee on Resolutions was appointed, to report, at an adjourned meeting, on Monday

report, at adjourned meeting, on Adotasy evening.

The tenor of the speeches and the feeling of the meeting were inclined to a demonstration in favor of Mr. Clay. The resolutions to be adopted on Monday evening will show what action has been decided upon.

# GREAT MEETING IN BOSTON.

A meeting, to ratify the nomination of Van Bu ren and Adams, was held in the old Cradle of Liberty, Faneuil Hall, on Tuesday evening last. The

erty, Faneuil Hall, on Tuesday evening last. The Chronotype says:

"It was beyond a doubt the most enthusiastic meeting which Faneuil Hall has seen since it cradled the Revolution. Not only was the Hall filled to its utmost capacity, but all the space around it was full. An immense meeting was addressed from the steps of Quincy market, and was in full blast when the meeting in the Hall adjourned. The Republican adds, that it was as enthusiastic and intelligent an audience as ever met together there, on any public occasion, and the Cass and Taylor papers appear somewhat chagrined at the immense gathering, and the unanimity and the spirit with which it passed off. Charles Sumner presided, and addresses were made by several distinguished men. A series of able resolutions were adopted, and the nomination of Van Buren for the Presidency and Charles Francis Adams for the Vice Presidency, was ratified with the greatest enthusiasm."

# QUEER TAYLOR CLUBS IN MICHIGAN.

On the reception of the nomination of Van Buren and Adams, a special meeting of the Tay-lor Club of Lansing, the capital of the State, was called, and the following resolution was declared carried by the President of the Club, S. N.

being made by the party in power to extend the area of Slavery over the territory recently acquired by the United States from Mexico, we consider it the duty of every well-wisher of the human family to exert his influence to promote the election of Martin Van Buren to the Presidency, and Charles F. Adams to the Vice Presidency." and Charles F. Adams to the Vice Presidency."

Hon. Daniel R. Tilden, of Ohio, ex-member of Congress from the Reserve, and a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention, made a powerful speech for Van Buren, Adams, and Free Soil, at Lansing, on the 14th Instant. Hon. C. P. Bush, a Hunker politician, defended General Cass from the lashes of Mr. Tilden, but to no purpose. The Taylor Club has been changed into a Jeffersonian League.—N. Y. Tribune.

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings has been nominated y the Whig Congressional Convention for re

Blank
The Hon. Joshua R. Giddinge, having received a majority of all the votes given, was declared duly nominated.

## FBRE SOIL IN LOUISIANA.

We find the following in the New Orleans Mercury of the 16th instant:

"According to public notice, a meeting of those favorable to the principles of the Free Soil party was held last evening at the Court Exchange, Lafayette. Mr. Thomas Mackey called the meet-ing to order, and briefly stated that the object was ing to order, and briefly stated that the object was to express their approval of the resolutions adopted at the Utica Convention, and declare their intentions of supporting Martin Van Buren for the Presidency. Henry A. Sample was called on to preside, William Slatham was appointed Vice President, and S. Vaught Secretary. Mr. Mackey read the resolutions of the Utica Convention, but some confusion ensuing, the meeting adjourned until next Saturday evening, when the Free Soil men of New Orleans and Lafayette will again assemble, on the corner of Leven and Harmony men of New Orleans and Latayette will again assemble, on the corner of Levee and Harmony streets. The germ of the Free Soil principles has been planted in Louisiana; will it be crushed at once, or will it grow into freshness and vigor? Ten years ago, such a movement in New Orleans would have aroused strong and violent opposition, and he who would offer such resolutions as those of the Little Computation. of the Utica Convention, to the consideration of a meeting in Louisiana, would place himself in a perilous position."

The second Free Soil meeting at Lafayette was not so quiet as the first one, a number of persons being present who voted down all the resolutions offered. A Van Buren Club was formed, with the following as the basis of their constitu-

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby form ourselves into a club, under the name of the Van Buren Club, for the purpose of opposing the extension of slavery over that territory of the United States not recognised as sovereign States; that the same may become the refuge and home of the free white laborer, whose only capital that he can invest in agriculture is the labor of his own hands. We also advocate the gift of said public domain to actual settlers free of cost; and that we may not bring odium on this Club, we hereby severally pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not, by word or act, sanction any proposition of change in the relation that now exists in the State between the colored and our own race." "We, whose names are hereunto subscribed,

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LITTELL'S LIVING AGE. CONTENTS OF No. 224.—Aug. 26, 1848.—Price, twelve and a half cents.

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2. Hyas the Athenean.—Fraser's Magazine.

3. Character of Costume.—Chambers's Journal.

4. Eastern Life, Present and Past.—Westminster Review.

5. Vanity Fair.—Spectator.

6. Giance at the State of Europe.—Examiner.

7. Attitude of Russis.—Examiner.

8. The Cholers.—Examiner.

9. The Eve of the Conquest, and other Poems.—Examiner.

10. Woman's Rights Convention.—New York Paper.

11. Vancouver's Island —Spectator.

12. Irish Credulity.—Westmeath Guardian.

13. European Correspondence of the Living Age.

POETRY.

POETRY.

Come, Love and Memcry. To Cavaignac. Sonnet. The Far, Far East. Far. Far East.

SHORT ARTICLES.

Wildfe'l Hall. Sufferings of General Duvivier. Anecdots of Whitefield. Walking. Renovation of Apple Trees. WASHINGTON, December 27, 1845.

Of all the periodical journals devoted to literature and science which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the exposition only of the current literature of the English language; but this, by its immense extent and comprehen-sion, includes a portraiture of the human mind in the utmost expansion of the present age.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

DEBATES IN CONGRESS ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY,

CONTAINING the entire debate in the Senate on Mr. Hale's bill for the Protection of Property in the District of Columbia, (growing out of the attack of the mob on the office of the National Era, in April last;) the speeches of Measer. Tuck and Giddings, in the House of Representatives, on the bill providing for payment for a slave who escaped from his master during the last war with Great British resel of war; speeches of Measers. Hale, Niles, and Dix, in the Senate, on the bill to establish a Territorial Government in Oregon; on the bill to establish a Territorial Government in Oregon;

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The above make a pamphlet of 64 pages, large octave, it
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Aug. 17.

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Aug 24.—3m BOSTON PIANO FORTE MANUF ICTORY.

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Aug. 24.—5t

A. W. RICE, } LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1840, JUST published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slaver Society, and for sale at their Depository at the followin

Orders, enclosing the each, will be promptly executed, and should be addressed to the Publishing Agent, WILLIAM HARNED, No. 61 John street, New York.

DEP Please be particular to designate the mode of conveyance by which the Almanacs are to be sent. Aug. 24—tf FARM FOR SALE.

FARM FOR SALE.

POR SALE, a Farm, half a mile from, and commanding an excellent view of, the flourishing town of Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio, containing eighty acree, well improved it has a large brick house, two frame barns, an orchard of grafted fruit trees, an inexhaustible supply of the best of soft water in wells and springs, a well of soft water in the kitchen. House and yard well shaded with trees. A healthy and beautiful country seat.

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Theodore Taylor. THE MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW

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## THE NATIONAL ERA.

For the National Era. THE CLAIMS OF GENERAL TAYLOR. No. 1.

Mr. Editor: I propose, through the columns of your valuable paper, to present some of the considerations which justify Whigs, and especially Northern Whigs, in withholding their support from General Taylor. I shall do this in two or three successive articles, which I desire you to publish, provided you may think them worthy of the space they will occupy. What I have to say may not abound in novelty or originality; but as you have a number of Whig subscribers in the neighborhood of my residence, who wish well to your enterprise, and are not willing to be absolute slaves of their party, it is perhaps fair that they should be allowed to speak for themselves, through the medium of the "Era." I shall first notice the objection, that General Taylor is merely a military chieftain, together with some kindred considerations; secondly, that he is exclusively in the hands of the South, and the undoubted exponent of Southern, in opposition to Northern policy and interest; and, lastly, I shall insist that Northern men ought to take a stand noise that Northern men ought to take a stand now against Southern encroachment, and in behalf of Northern rights, and maintain the stand thus taken, regardless of any supposed consequences of their separate and independent political action.

War is among the greatest of earthly calamities. The significant declaration of John Wesley respecting slavery, is applicable, in all its force, to war; for verily, it is "the sum of all villanies." In the language of Robert Hall, "It is a temporary repeal of all the principles of virtue." It has been said, with truth, that "he who is the author of a war, lets locate the whole contaging of hall of a war, lets loose the whole contagion of hell, and opens a vein that bleeds a nation to death. The histories of Alexander and Charles of Swe-The histories of Alexander and Charles of Sweden are the histories of human devils; a good man cannot think of their actions without abhorrence, nor of their deaths without rejoicing. To see the bounties of Heaven destroyed, the beautiful face of nature laid waste, and the choicest works of creation and art tumbled into ruin, would fetch a curse from the soul of piety itself." The chief business of war, says a writer of more recent date, "is to destroy human life; to mangle the limbs; to gash and hew the body; to plunge the sword into the heart of a fellow-creature; to strew the earth with bleeding frames, and to strew the earth with bleeding frames, and to trample them under foot with horses' hoofs. It is to batter down and burn cities; to turn beautiful fields into deserts; to level the cottage of the peasant, and the magnificent abode of opulence; to scourge nations with famine; to multiply widows and orphans. Are these honorable deeds? Were you called to name exploits worthy of demons, would you not naturally select such as these? Grant that a necessity for them may exist; it is a dreadful necessity, such as a good man must recoil from with instinctive horror; and though it may exempt them from guilt, it cannot turn them into glory."

And who are to blame for involving a country in the crimes and horrors of war? Shall we charge all the guilt upon rulers? Undoubtedly charge all the guilt upon rulers? Undoubtedly they should be held to a strict accountability. If, looking to their own private emolument, or led on by their own mad ambition, they bring upon their country a needless war, no punishment could be too dreadful for their deserts. But the primary causes of war lie beyond the vices of rulers. The People become intoxicated by the war spirit, and corrupt men in power find the state of public opinion a temptation which they are unable to resist. People become intoxicated by the war spirit, and corrupt men in power find the state of public opinion a temptation which they are unable to resist. Here lies the great evil. And who moulds public opinion and disseminates the war spirit? The question has been well answered, "The declaimers upon glory; men who sit quietly at home in their studies and at their desks; the historian, the historian and the historian and the historian and the studies and the state of the sta their studies and at their desks; the historian, the biographer, the poet, the moral philosopher, the pampleteer, the editor of the newspaper, the teacher of religion." These are the men who do the mischief, and who are accountable far more than Governments and rulers for the calamities of war. Who can compute the mischievous consequences of publishing Headley's "Napoleon and his Marshals?" The book is falling extensively into the hands of the young, and by its pompous descriptions of battles, of "rolling thunders," of "plunging masses," and "falling earthquakes," the reader is confused by the very excess of his admiration. An impression is thus cess of his admiration. An impression is thus made upon his mind which he will not soon outgrow, and which tends to keep wholly out of sight the miseries and calamities of war, and at the same time all questions bearing upon the merits of the contest in the given case. Look at our Mexican war. The People of the United States have declared, by their representatives, that it was "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally be-gun by the President." It has been denounced, in no measured terms, as a war of invasion and con-quest against an unoffending people. Yet histo-ries of the war are already written, and descrip-tions of its battles circulated throughout the whole country, in which our army is uniformly whole country, in which our army is uniformly represented as being composed of patriots, men fighting in defence of the liberty and laws of their native land, and sustaining the honor of our country's flag, whilst they have covered themselves with glory." Such is the madness of the war spirit, and such the means employed by those who should guide public opinion aright, to blind the eyes of the People. Should the demoralizing process go on, as it seems likely to do, no mortal vision can penetrate the dark cloud of evil which even now is gathering over the prosperity of the country. gathering over the prosperity of the country The People will become drunk with the idea of military glory; the spirit of conquest will rage with redoubled fierceness; the heart of the nawith redoubled fierceness; the heart of the nation will become rotten; the horrors of war, as well as the real character of those who engage in it, will be lost sight of or disregarded. In filling the offices of the country, the question will not be, Is the candidate honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution? But, has he been in battle? No inquiry will be made as to the character of the war in which he may have figured; none as to his civil fitness for office; none as to acter of the war in which he may have figured; none as to his civil fitness for office; none as to the morality of his private life. It will be sufficient if he can lay claim to a moderate share of "glory." Even now, notwithstanding the Christianity of the age, the name of Lord Nelson is associated in our minds with the glory of England; yet "he lived in adultery, defiled his conscience with murder for the sake of his wretched paramour, and died in mean and guilty separation from his faithful wife and children." Nothing can exceed the blindness, not to say the diabolical madness, of this military mania. And when so many agencies are at work in society, poisoning the fountains of public opinion by artfully taking advantage of the weakness of our nature, and thus sowing in the hearts of the people the seeds of war itself, ought not every man, and especially war itself, ought not every man, and especially every Christian man, to stand up boldly for his country? Should he not exert himself to the utmost in stemming the tide of evil?

most in stemming the tide of evil?

Apply these observations now to the question of General Taylor's claims to the Presidency. First, however, let me ask, what are these claims? What has he done to earn a title to the highest office in the People's gift—the most exalted station on earth? At the unconstitutional bidding of a Presidential neurper, he has waded up to his eyes in the blood of a people with whom we were at peace. In plain Saxon truth, he stands before the country as the chief of our national cut-throats; and while his hands are yet recking with the blood of his victims, and the gore is still dripping from his garments, he asks the American People, in return for his sweet services in the merciless work of death, to elect him President of the United States! No other considerations can seriously be urged for giving him our suppert. He himself frankly admits his entire want of civil qualifications, and owns that he has no opinions of his own upon any of the great questions which have been thought vital to the prosperity of the country. His life, he says, has been almost exclusively spent in her military service. And, as to our Mexican war, how stands the case? If his friends tell the truth, he has condemned the war as un-Mexican war, how stands the case? If his friends tell the truth, he has condemned the war as unjust; and yet he was willing, at the mere order of the President, to engage in it, contending, in his letter to Delany, published in June of last year, that it was his duty, both as a soldier and a citizen, to do so, "without impuring into its justice, or anything else connected with it." Here we have a most beautiful morsel of morality truly! The soldier and the citizen must assist in carrying on a war, however unprovoked or unrighteous, whenever the Government may chance to need their services; thus giving themselves up as the passive instruments, the mere machines, of arbitrary power. It is not their business to inquire into the justice of the thing they are fighting for, but they must fight on; as if, when the fighting is ended, they could shift the responsibility entirely upon their rulers. Can men do this? It is true, says a forcible writer, that "we are not responsiupon their rulers. Can men do this? It is true, says a forcible writer, that "we are not responsible for the crimes of our rulers; but we are responsible for our own; and the crimes of our own rulers are our own, if, whilst we believe them to be crimes, we promote them by our cooperation." Gen. Taylor here stands condemned as the plunderer and destroyer of his fellow-mortals, with no excuse to plead for his enormities, save the unauthorized and wicked command of his military superior. I challenge his friends to extricate him from the moral dilemma in which he is here placed. Let him not plead military unage, or the disgrace that would have followed a refusal to obey orders. He had no right to do wrong at the command of the state of the command of the command of the state of the command of

ble, dispassionate, Christian men; and I ask them if these things are not so? Can the laws or usages of mortals nullify the laws of God and the moral obligations of men? If not, where is General Taylor's real "glory?" What avails all the blood he shed at Buena Vista? In the sight of God and just men, he is infinitely less deserving of his country than he was before his battles were fought. Yet I insist that his battles are all the political capital he can claim. True, he may be a man of "Roman integrity." He may also feel towards his country as the patriot feels. These virtues are possessed by millions, and in General Taylor never attracted the gaze of the nation. They have been discovered since his victories, and these alone constitute his glory or his shame. Undoubtedly he possesses and has displayed military genius and undaunted valor; but these endounded the possesses and displayed by

nomination. Our country will be deluged with biographies of General Taylor; gorgeous descriptions of his battles and exploits; "Rough and Ready" songs of every imaginable metre and description, breathing the war spirit, of course; portraits of General Taylor on horseback, and in various attitudes, whilst engaged with the enemy; gaudy representations of his battles, not to mention an infinite variety of banners, with paintings, devices, &c., got up by political demagogues to delude the People, and all designed to produce an effect, in a military point of view, upon every man, boy, and child, in the country. The press will teem with articles lauding to the skies General Taylor's bravery, skill, and daring deeds of blood; and the mottoes and sayings which tradieral Taylor's bravery, skin, and daring deeds of blood; and the mottoes and sayings which tradi-tion has already fathered upon the old veteran will become household words. The orators of the country (and their name is legion) will bellow forth their praise of his military deeds in every nook and corner of the Union; and, peradventu even some of the ministers of religion will in hale the contagion, and exhibit their appitite for blood whilst representing the cause of the Prince of Peace. In short, the infirmity through which of Peace. In short, the infirmity through which men reason is so easily led captive in reference to all matters military, will be most powerfully and artfully appealed to by every appliance that human management can put in requisition. Books, pamphlets, newspapers, war speeches, military parades, all those influences which generate and diffuse the war spirit, and originate war itself, will be dealt out in copious doses to the multitude, swelling the tide of popular madness, damming up the moral progress of the community, and dimming, if not descrating, the truths of religion. In vain may Whigs continue to denounce the Mexican war as an abomination; the impression will insensibly be imbibed, that the wrongs we have received from Mexico merited the chastisement we have given her; that a war which has covered

ceived from Mexico merited the chastisement we have given her; that a war which has covered General Taylor and his army with glory, was it-self glorious. Its horrors and crimes will be kept out of sight, and the lesson which we might otherout of sight, and the lesson which we might otherwise have learned by national repentance will be lost upon us by our want of moral power to repent. Talk not of the spirit of conquest which would glut itself in the election of General Cass. Could any President or Cabinet save us, when the foundation of our freedom, the virtue and intelligence of the People, have been undermined? Can a worse evil befal us than moral and intellectual debasement as a nation? Can the spirit of conditions of the people when the same of the people with the people when the same properties a nation? debasement as a nation? Can the spirit of con-quest be stayed, whilst the spirit of war burns in the hearts of the People? What, then, is the duty of the Whigs in the present crisis? Is it to chime in with the masses, the willing victims of delusion, and encourage them in their madness? Or ought we not rather to say, "Come out of her, my people?" Every man is accountable for his actions, and for the use he makes of his influence; nor need any hope to escape this responsibility, who, instead of standing up boldly, though it may be feebly, against the powers of evil, bows down to their bidding, and tamely yields to them his support. It is no excuse that our independent action may be opposed by public opinion, or popular tumult, or party tyranny; the account we have to give for our actions is not to be rendered to the public, nor to any party, but to a tribunal where such considerations are utterly excluded. The sacred tie of duty, that moral allegiance which binds every man to his country and his Creator, is a higher and holier consideration than the homage exacted by party, or the servility demanded by popular opinion. Party and public opinion, it is true, ought to be regarded. We should ac-knowledge their reasonable claims; but we should spurn indignantly their pretensions to infallibili-

A NORTHERN WHIG.

### For the National Era. A SONG FOR THE CRISIS.

ty, or their right to take upon themselves the free-dom and responsibility which belong to us as in-dividual men. The Church of Rome sets up no claims, exhibits no tyranny, more monstrous or

intolerable than these.

BY EDWARD D. HOWARD.

AIR-I see them on their winding way. Ho, freemen of my native land,
From Rocky Mountain to the strand
Where bine Atlantic chashes o'er
New England's consecrated shore,
Lo, Liberty, in robes of light,
Descends in glory on the night!
And bright the daybreak from afar
Shines on her brow—the morning star!
Then peal the signal to the skies,
Bid slumbering cirizens arise,
And brail with joy the rising day,
While clouds and darkness melt away! Ho, warrior from the field of fight, With plumed crest and arm of might, with plumed creat and arm of might, Unbind the sabre from thy side, Lest Heaver's curses thee betide! Enough of blood—enough of crime Hath stained the mourful page of tim Then hush the clarion's wild alarms, There's nobler strife for you to do!"

Ho, statesman with the thoughtful brow.
Cast party issues from thee now,
Awake thy voice to nobler themes,
A dawning glory round thee streams!
Let fervid tongue, and peu of fire,
Enkindle slavery's funeral pyre!
Light Freedom's torohes at the blaze,
And flash to Heaven their signal rays!
Warn trembling tyranus with thy voice,
Bid Earth's downtro'den ones rejoice;
Say to the noble and the true.

Ho, merchant in the crowded mart—
Ho, farmer with the sunshine swart—
Mechanic busy with the plane,
Or mid the forge's fiery rain,
A moment from your toil forbear—
A mighty sound is on the air!
A great deed stirreth in its sleep—
At one bold shout, to life 'twill leap!
Then one deep draught of Freedom's air,
One firm resolve to do and dare,
One long, lond peal unto the skies,
And slumbering millions will arise! When battle fields with blood are wet, When stern Oppression's heel is set Upon the bound and helpless slave, Oh, who would hesitate to save Oh, who would hesitate to save
The stainless soil, as yet untrod.
By Tyrants' feet accurred of God!
Shall Slavery's whip and chain resould of the stainless of the stainless of the stainless of the stainless of the same stainless of the same of th Then prake no more of tariffs high,
Of banks or specie currency,
While erimes that cloud the noonday sun
Are daily in our nation done!
Shall we in base inaction sleep,
While Slavery's minions vigil keep?
And must we worship at the shrine,
Or drink with them its gory wine?
No! let us to the world proclaim,
That theirs' alone the guilt and shame—
That, whatsoe'er the South may be,
The North shall hence be ever free?

Orwell, August, 1848.

### POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OVER SLAVERY.

No. 1.

What right have men to institute Governments? Government is a divine institution. By this is meant, that it exists by the sanction of God. This sanction is given in His works, and in His

This sanction is given in His works, and in His work.

In His works we see the necessity for Government in that weakness among men that calls for protection, and in that deprayity which requires restraint. Mankind are so constituted that they cannot live together in communities without Government and law. Without these, the rich would oppress the poor; and the strong trample on the rights of the weak. And, as "man was formed Governments" his Maker has thus anotioned Governments. rights of the weak. And, as "man was formed for society," his Maker has thus sanctioned Government, without which no society could exist.

In His word, God has clearly given His sanction to human Governments. We read it in the history of His dealings with His "ancient people," and in the precepts of His inspired teachers. "There is no power but of God—the powers that be are ordained of God." "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil." "They are sent by God for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well." The relations we sustain to each other, and to our Creator, alike demand that we should institute Government.

2. A Government formed is a contract of the people. No one man has the right to assume the office nor the power to perform the duties of a guardian for the whole. It is for the interest of

Undoubtedly he possesses and has displayed military genius and undaunted valor; but these endowments have been possessed and displayed by men whose vices have covered their names with infamy, and disgraced human nature itself.

But I proceed to notice, in a different point of view, the claims of General Taylor. I have shown that these claims are founded exclusively upon his military services, and that these services have been rendered in a war which he, in common with the Whig party, has condemned as unjust. The Whig party, has condemned as unjust. The Whig campaign will therefore be conducted in reference to this leading idea, which led to his nomination. Our country will be deluged with biographies of General Taylor; gorgeous descriptions of his battles and exploits; "Rough and

no allegiance.

Such are some of the elementary principles which, by the common consent of mankind, lie at the basis of all just Governments. And in commencing a short series of articles on the powers which one of the Governments under which we live has over American slavery, I have referred to these principles because of their importance, and their bearing on the subject. For it will be readily seen in the light of them, not that any particular Government has power to abolish slavery, but that no Government has legitinate power to establish it. The victims of slaimate power to establish it. The victims of slavery are held in that condition by brute force alone. very are need in that condition by orute force atone.

And though oppressors, in Constitutions and laws, may agree to assist each other, when necessary, in their wicked business, such Constitutions and laws are piratical, unauthorized, and void. Slaveholding is in all cases a private crime. No long-continued legislation can sanction or sanctify it. It is but the more mischievous for being "framed the law." It was necessary. by law." Its supporters are only the more cow-ardly and cruel for depriving their victims of every chance for redress.

### For the National Era. THE LION AWAKENING.

BURLINGTON, (VT.,) June 28, 1848. It it now, probably, past serious doubt, that the letermination to resist the insolent dictation of slavery, expressed through its two National Con is not confined to a few factious and dis contented impracticables, scattered here and there throughout the North, but that it is the controlling political motive with large bodies of men who have hitherto contributed essentially to the character as well as numbers of the two principal political parties. The distinct enunciation of John Van Buren, at Hudson, that the difference between the Hunkers and Barnburners wa one of principle, and could not be compromised— the subsequent ratification of that assertion by the nomination of his father at Utica, and the latter gentleman's plain statement that he should not vote for Mr. Cass—the Whig Convention of five hundred delegates at Columbus, Ohio, where-in every county but one in that great State was represented, and at which a call was mnde for a represented, and at which a call was made for a National Convention at Buffalo, on the 9th of August—the wildfire speed with which the spirit of independence has spread through old Massa-chusetts, awaking her sons for the gathering at Worcester on the 28th—the hesitation of the Tribune, and dozens of other influential Whig papers—the hearty support given to Mr. Van Buren's nomination by the New York Evening Post, and many other Democratic papers in New York and Wisconsim—these, with the general coldness manifested everywhere at the North in regard to the nominations, except among those whose officious venality has contributed so largely to bring them about, all go to show, with a cer-tainty which none can mistake, that the "prairie is on fire," and will burn until the hay and stubble of slave influence at the North is quite consumed. Slavery, rendered bold and presumptuous by

the result of the last election, and supposing, with a fatuity which can only excite our wonder, that all the real Anti-Slavery feeling at the North was confined to the Liberty party, where its proat last too bold a game. It is amazing that the astute attorneys of the peculiar institution in the ed:

was the moving spirit of the occasion.

The following Declaration was read and adopted: Philadelphia Convention could have been so stultified as to suppose that the Northern Whig would all submit to the brutal and ruffianly treat ment inflicted on Messrs. Allen and Wilson of Massachusetts, and Mr. Campbell of Ohio, merely because the doughfaces who happened to have got themselves appointed delegates from the Northern States were content to sit by, without complaint or resistance, and see their colleagues hooted, screamed, and stamped down, for daring to talk of adhering to Whig principles, in a professedly Whig Convention. "Never mind," was fessedly Whig Convention. "Never mind," was the thought, if not the speech, of these overseers; "once get the nomination through, and all will be well. They dare not bolt a regular nominabe well. They dare not bolt a regular nomina-tion!" We shall see as to that. It is not to be denied, that hitherto such reckoning would not be without the host. But times are changing. It is a remarkable feature in the history of tyranny, that, once assured of the actual existence of its power, it is ever slow to believe that power in imminent danger. The last act of Louis Philippe was to refuse, in a haughty and arrogant manner, the request of a citizen for some reasonable re-form in his administration. Even at the moment of this haughty refusal, the great crowd of citi-zens filled his court-yards, who in about twenty minutes afterwards converted him, as if by magic, from a King into a poor fugitive, lacking an overcoat, and borrowing a few louis of a police man,
to enable him to run away from his kingdom.
The fall of slave domination may not be so refreshingly sudden as that of the "Barricade
King," but it will be not less certain and complete. The handwriting on the wall is youch. King," but it will be not less certain and com-plete. The handwriting on the wall is vouch-safed to the slave tyrants, that they may, if they will, take warning in due season. If they de-cline, it will be all the same to us at the North. cline, it will be all the same to us at the North.

The strong and prevalent feeling here is—"How
contemptible appear the political differences with
which the South has persuaded us to exhaust
ourselves, compared with the enormity of that
selfish iniquity to which they have made our differences minister."

ferences minister '''
The Anti-Slavery feeling in these United
States is as sleepless as the force of gravitation.
It may be balked for a time, but few systems of palpable and gigantic wrong can resist its eternal pressure. The thirst for partisan triumph and the spoils of office, skilfully used by Slavery, have kept it at bay a long time. Now it is overswelling the dikes that confined it, and will soon break them away forever. It is fitting that we break them away forever. It is fitting that we should arouse to a sense of our degradation, when our National Legislature is so completely under the dominion of slavery that it will pass high-flown resolutions of sympathy with the people of France on the attainment of their own liberty, and at the same instant vote down an amendment designed to thank their new Government for marking the beginning of its career by taking measures to do away with the meanest institutions of tyranny the world ever saw. How even marking the beginning of its career by taking measures to do away with the meanest institutions of tyranny the world ever saw. How even the overseers could look each other in the face, after perpetrating such an act of pitiful inconsistency, it is difficult to conceive, or would be, if the peculiar institution had not filled our records with such monstrous absurdities. It is time this matter was corrected, and a goodly proportion of the freemen of the North seem about to try their hands at the correction. They will lay a foundation in November, on which can be reared a noble superstructure in four or eight years, and it does not matter much which. "The right can afford to wait."

## For the National Era. LITERARY AIMS AND THEMES.

"He who cannot say something in sympathy with, or is aid of, the great movements of humanity, might as well hold his peace."—Dr. Channing.

The above passage, designed as a rebuke to that class of public speakers who have no higher objects than to gratify their own vanity, and amuse their audience, is also strikingly appropriate to a great portion of the writers of the present day. I do not here refer to the laborious manufacturers of vapid verses and pointless tales in the, magazines and newspapers. Oblivious to their own infirmity, they are altogether incorrigible, and will doubtless scribble on ad infinitum.

"Proud of a vast extent of fimsy lines."

I now speak of writers of talent taste, and industriance.

I now speak of writers of talent, taste, and industry, worthy to be masters in their art, but who appear to have no rational or worthy object in view—the true test, after all is said, of merit and

view—the true test, after all is said, of merit and of fame.

Among the many modern instances of this misdirection of literary talent, the mind involuntarily turns to Sir Walter Scott, as one of the most prominent. What can we, at this day of the world, think of this man of genius and perseverance, living in the time of the French Revolution, in an age more interesting than any which had preceded it, yet looking coldly on Europe as it was, while bending all his energies to the task of tracing an ideal outline of Europe as it had been-preferring the night of the 13th and 14th centuries to the dayspring of the 18th and 19th—the chronicles of monks to the stirring scenes of liv-

ing history before his very eyes—seeing more to admire in the animal daring of feudal robbers, than in the struggle of their vassals for liberty—taking for his heroes border-plunderers, wizards, and goblins, with the whole panorama of Europe's genius and chivalry passing before him, in the age of Voltaire and Napoleon—and falling in his only attempt (his Life of Bonaparte) to deal with the sublime realities of his own times! When to all this truth compels us to add, that his sympathies were against "the great movements of humanity" in the age he lived in, what can we of this generation say of him, but that his mind resembled some of the monastic and castellated structures he has so well described—massy monuments of a barbarous taste, unsuited to the wants and conveniences of the present age—and that, politically speaking, his soul was a very Bastile—impervious to light and liberty. He stands a monument of perverted genius—of the error of yielding up the soul to an inferior mental bias. Such is now the chief moral of the life and writing the soul to an inferior mental bias. of a barbarous taste, unsuited to the wants and conveniences of the present age—and that, politically speaking, his soul was a very Bastile—impervious to light and liberty. He stands a monument of perverted genius—of the error of yielding up the soul to an inferior mental bias. Such is now the chief moral of the life and writings of the "Author of Waverley."

Thus much of Sir Walter Scott. It should be observed in this connection, that some authors of

observed in this connection, that some authors of his own time, and very many since, while they have rivalled him in taking irrational and eccentric bearings, have far surpassed him in the vicious tendency of their writings. It is needless to particularity.

I next remark, that not only might all such writers "as well be silent" in a moral point of view, or "for all the good they do;" but even enlightened selfishness enforces the same truth. Lasting reputation can never follow their present course. A writer, to be long remembered, must have a hold on the sympathies of humanity; and this is not to be obtained by the perfection of mere art. Even painting and sculpture aim, or should aim, at something beyond themselves as mere arts—something which shall attract and elevate the soul. Much more is this essential in writing—more particularly in poetic composition. It is truly lamentable to see this obvious consideration so often lost sight of. O, it is wearisome to read the newspaper rhymes of our "artistic" eration so often lost signt of. O, it is wearsome to read the newspaper rhymes of our "artistic" poetasters, elaborately wrought out with effeminate images and strange, obsolete words—the search after the ideas of which, often elusory, is always painfully embarrassing; and sorrowful is it to think of the sweet but vain labor of these unfortunate creatures! How totally profitless and destitute of influence are these pitiably-tame productions! And how entirely vain all hopes of distinction arising from them! Oh, that writers

"From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart;"
or, failing in this, learn to be silent. This is the grand talisman of poetic inspiration and poetic fame. Mrs. Hemans is, and will continue to be, more indebted for her reputation to her Landing of the Pilgrim Fu. hers, than to all her "Tales and Historic Scenes" put together. To indite "historical novels" and poems is no evidence of genius, torical novels" and poems is no evidence of genius, nor guaranty of permanent fame. Take one more example in the peasant-bard of Scotland. What knew he of "artistic" writing, what of "æsthetics," and all this technical nomenclature, which plain people consider nonsense without getting very wide of the mark? He knew nothing of art. His poems are short, simple, and the whole collection meager "in size, and disjointed in arrangement."

"Yet read the names that know not death, Few nobler ones than Burns are there; And few have won a greener wreath Than that which binds his hair." And why? Simply because

"His is that language of the heast,
To which the answering heart will speak."

All I have here said of Burns is at least equally applicable to Shakspeare, and also, to a greater or less degree, to every poet of established reputation—I mean, in the one particular of writing the "language of the heart."

The following communication has been on and for some time; this is the first time we have had room for it. Something like it has already found its way to the public .- Ed. Era. For the National Era.

## WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

The women of Seneca county, New York, re-cently called a Convention, for the discussion of the present civil, social, and religious condition of women. The meetings were held in one of the churches in the village of Seneca Falls, where the question was discussed throughout two entire days, by both men and women. Lucretia Mott

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of Naerto occupied, but one to which the laws of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course. We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights Governments are instituted, deriving their just nowers from the constituted, deriving their just nowers from the constituted, deriving their just powers from the con-sent of the governed. Whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and insist upon the institution of a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed; but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, t is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government—to provide new grounds for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this Government, and rerance of the women under this Government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled. The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man towards women, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

world:

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she has had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which have been given to the most increasit and degraded

He has withheld from her rights which have been given to the most ignorant and degraded men, both natives and foreigners.

He, having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in our halls of legislation, has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law givilly dead. law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all rights in property

He has taken from her all rights in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her morally an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband—he becoming to all intents and purposes her master, the law giving him power to deprive her of liberty and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be proper causes of divorce, in cases of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly unjust and regardless of the happiness of woman—the law in all cases going upon the false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands. After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a Government which recognises her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the means of profitable employment; and in those which she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all the avenues to wealth

He closes against her all the avenues to wealt

and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself—as a teacher of theology, medicine or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for a thorough

or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her. He allows her in church, as well as in state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with few exceptions, from all public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for man and woman, by which moral delinquencies, which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in men.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign woman her sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half of the people of this country, their social and religious degradation; and in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppræssed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights,

### A CHINESE WEDDING.

The marriage ceremony is an imperative duty to every Chinese; not to have a son to worship at

his tomb is the dread of all; and the sooner this

difficulty is overcome the better. The terms honorable and illustrious are used to the father, while the bachelor is looked upon with certain horror Sons are looked upon as profitable and honorable, while daughters are almost the contrary, and the rearing them is a matter of question with the parents, literally, whether it will pay or not; according to the accomplishments of the lady, so is her price or remuneration to her parents. Bearing the same surname is about the only one bar ing the same surname is about the only one bar to marriage in general; and although this may appear but a trifling one, still, from the few surnames in China, it is a grave impediment. Marriageable age is from fifteen on either side. A go-between, or public match-maker, frequently arranges the affair, but more commonly it is settled by one of the parents. Mothers not uncommonly, in conversation, when in the happy state that those who love their lords wish to be, mutually promise that if of opposite sexes, their off-spring shall in due-time be man and wife. Love has not often a hand in the matter. The anxious parents of the youth having, by one means or othparents of the youth having, by one means or other, procured a bride for him, presents of geese, cakes, samshoo, &c., pass between the families. I was present at the wedding of a worthy grocer at Chusan, who, from time to time, during our stay, Chusan, who, from time to time, during our stay, had supplied our mess in the general line. As soon as it was given out that he was going to marry, all friends of various grades sent congratulating cards, enclosing, each according to his means, from a hundred to a thousand or more Li (3d.) cash. This, he told me, was purchasing a sent at the bridal feast for the donor and his wife. Early in the morning, the young female friends attend to dress the bride, and weep—why the latter, I know not. When all is ready, the bride enters a carved red and gilt sedan, (to be hired in all villages, and used for marriages only.) First enters a carved red and gilt sedan, (to be hired in all villages, and used for marriages only.) First walk the band, not very emblematic of harmony, perhaps, but that does not matter, followed by the household goods and wearing apparel of the bride, carried in red painted boxes, attended by her relations and friends. When arrived at the house of the bridegroom, he opens the door of the sedan, and, receiving his bride, steps with her over a pan of charcoal, conveniently placed on the threshold, then, entering the house, they eat rice and drink tea together; which, with some verbal promises, complete the nuptuals. On calling on the bridegroom at his residence, and expressing a wish to see the bride, I was ushered into a well-furnished apartment, about which were strewed the newly-arrived effects, and on one side a new grand bedarrived effects, and on one side a new grand bedstead, ornamented with red and gold; in front of of it, arrayed in a dress of red silk, and headdress of gilt and silk, stood the bride, attended by her female friends; this is the ceremonial cosher female friends; this is the ceremonial cos-tume, and often hired, beneath which she is at-tired in silks and satins. Having been present-ed, and taken the liberty of presenting to the lady a small English purse, which was thankfully re-ceived, I made my bow and took leave of her. I next joined the bridegroom at an entertainment given to his friends, (i. e., all who had sent cards and money.) Much samshoo was drunk, and after feasting was over a kind of game was played: one party threw over a kind of game was played: one party threw out a number of fingers, and called them, while at the same time the other anticipated and threw out a similar number; the failure in doing so incurred the obligation of drinking off a cup of samshoo. In another apartment, at the same time, the bride entertained her friends. In the evening, a temporary theatre is erected in front of the house, and performances, fire-works, and the din of gongs and music, lasts till daylight, when all disperse. On the following day, servants, sedan bearers, performers, and all who have waited the day before, are feasted; and thus ends the ceremony.—Lieut. Forbes's Five Years in China.

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JAMES BIRNEY, Notary Public and Commissioner to take acknowledgments of deeds and depositions for the States of Maine, Vermont, Connectiout, Miehigan, New Hampshire, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, New York, and Arkansas.

Jan. 6.—tf

LARD OIL.

MPROVED LARD OIL -Lard Oil of the finest quality, APROVED LARD OIL.—LARD OI the mise quality, and woollens, being manufactured without acids, can always be purchased and shipped in strong barrels, prepared expressly to prevent leakage. Orders received and executed for the Lake, Atlantic, and Southern oities, also for the West Indies and Canadas. Apply to ERRY, Lard Oil Manufacturer, Jan. 20. 33 Water street, near Walnut, Cincinnati, O.

GLENHAVEN WATER CURE.

GLENHAVEN WATER CURE.

THIS new and commodious establishment for the treatment, by Water, of Disease, is open to receive Patients. It is situated at the head of Skaneateles Lake, ten miles north of Homer, and two and a half miles from the vii age of Scott, in the State of New York The house is large, commodious, and newly built. The springs are four in number, three of which rise on the mountain, on the west side of the Lake, six hundred feet above its level. They are pure, soft, very cold, and abundant. The scenery is very romantic, and the situation, for the invalid, delightfully inviting. Or. S. O. Gleason and lady have charge of the medical department, and will give their attention exclusively to those seeking health at the "Cure." James C. Jackson and wife take charge of the business and home department; and all letters having reference to business, or to admission, should be addressed to Mr. Jackson, and the postage paid, when they will receive due attention. A general supervision of the means of comfort and the welfare of the patients is in the hands of a young lady who has been greatly benefited under the hydropathic treatment. We can accommodate nicely, for the winter, some fifteen or twenty patients. Our sitting room and dining hall are spacious, and front the Lake. Those wishing to try the Water treatment had better apply without delay, as in most cases winter treatment is equally successful with summer treatment, and in many cases greatly superior as a means of cure; and an early a plication will secure the best opportunities for location as regards rooms.

TERMS.—Five dollars per week, payable weekly. Patients wishing free other than in the sitting room, can have one in their rooms, but will be charged each one dollar per week extra. Those wishing to occupy rooms singly, and have fire in them, will pay ten dollars per week, payable weekly. Washing and ironing in the institution, fifty cents per dozen pieces. Each patient must have one lines sheet a yard and a half square, two woollen blankets, thre

OFFICE OF CONSULTING ENGINEERS AND
COUNSELLERS FOR PATENTEES:

FOR imparting information on the subject of Inventions, and on the application of Chemical and Mechanical Science to the Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Mines, and for procuring and defending Patents, either in the United States or in foreign countries.

Professor WALTER R. JOHNSON, late of Philadelphia, and Z. C. ROBBINS, of Washington City, (aided by HAZARD KNOWLES, Esq., late Machinist of the United States Patent Office, have associated themselves together for the prosecution of the above branches of professional business, either in their office, at the Patent Office, or before the courts; and will devote their undivided attention to forwarding the interests of Inventors or others who may consult them or place business in their hands.

Mr. Knowles has for the past twelve years held the post of Machinist in the United States Patent Office, and resigns that situation to take part in the present undertaking. His talents and peculiar litness for the important office so long filled by him, have been fully recognised by Inventors wherever the office is itself known.

The office of Messrs. J. & R. is on F street, opposite the Patent Office, Washington, D. C., where communications, post paid, will be promptly attended to; examinations made, drawings, specifications, and all requisite papers preparedand models procured when desired—on reasonable terms. Letters of inquiry, expected to be answered after examinations and must be accommanded by a few of few delivered.

JUDGE JAY'S LETTER TO BISHOP IVES. JUDGE JAY'S LETTER TO BISHOP IVES.

A LETTER to the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina: occasioned by hie late Address to the Convention of his Diocese. By WILLIAM JAY. Third edition.

The numerous readers of this moet excellent and interesting letter, published in the National Era in [847, will be pleased to know that it has been handsomely stereotyped, under the direction of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and is now for sale \$2.40 per hundred, or three cents single.

Orders, accompanied by the cash, and directing by what conveyance they may be forwarded, will be promptly executed by

WILLIAM HARNED,

April 13.

BEMOVAL

REMOVAL.

THE Depository, Reading Room, and Office of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have been removed from 22 Spruce street to No. 51 John street, near William street, New York.

Having secured this central and eligible location, the Executive Committee entertain a hope that every friend of the cause, visiting New York, will make it a point to call and obtain a supply of the Society's publications, and other works on the subject of slavery, of which it is intended that a full supply shall be kept constantly on hand. Orders from the country, enclosing the eash, and directing by what mode of conveyance the parcels shall be sent, will receive prompt attention.

ention.

Files of all the Anti-Slavery papers published in the Unitries of all the Anti-Slavery papers published in the Onied States are carefully preserved, and are accessible to all
visiters, free of charge. A large number of Religious and
Literary newspapers are also received and filed.
The office of the American Missionary Association has
also been removed to the same building. Communicatious
and packages for either Society should be directed as above.
WILLIAM HARNED,
May 4.

The Anti-Slavery reports will please conv. Anti-Slavery papers will please copy.

COMMISSION STORE. W.M. GUNNISON, General Commission Merchant, 101 Bowly's Wharf, Baltimore, Md. Dec. 23.—ly JUST PUBLISHED,

POSITION and Duties of the North with regard to Sla Position and Duties of the North with regard to Sla very, by Andrew P. Peabody. Reprinted from the Chris-tian Examiner of July, 1843. An interesting and neat cover-ed pamphlet of 22 pages. Price, 10 cents single, §1 per dos-son. For sale at the Depository, 61 John street, by Feb 3. WILLIAM HARNED.

PLUMBE NATIONAL DAGUERREAN GALLERY
AND PHOTOGRAPHERS' FURNISHING DEPOTS awarded the gold and silver medals, four first premiums, and two highest honors, at the National, the Massachusetts, the New York, and Pennsylvania Exhibitions, respectively, for the most splendid colored Daguerrectypes and best apparatus ever exhibited. Portraits taken in exquisite style, without regard to weather. Instructions given in the art.

Instructions given in the art.
A large assortment of apparatus and stock always on hand A large assortment of apparatus and stock always on hand at the lowest cash prices. Philadelphia, 136 Chesnut street. New York, 251 Broadway, Philadelphia, 136 Chesnut street. Boston, 75 Court and 56 Hanover streets; Baltimere, 205 Bal-timore street; Washington, Pennsylvania avenue; Peters burg, Virginia, Mechanics' Hall; Cincinnal, Fourth and Walnut, and 176 Main street; Saratoga Springs, Broadway; Paris, 127 Vieille Rue du Temple; Liverpool, 32 Church street. SILVER WARE MANUFACTORY.

UPHOLSTERY.

UPHOLSTERY.

GREAT BED AND MATTRESS DEPOT, 35 South Calvert street.—On hand, and made to order, every known size and shape of Feather Beds, Bolsters, and Fillows, in any quantity, and of such quality as has won for the subscriber the justly merited name of keeping the best, sweetest, and cheapest feather beds in all Baltimore. Also on hand, and made to order, all sines of Hair, Mose, Husk, Wool, Cotton, and Straw Mattresses and Palliases. In store, a large ascortment of newest patterns Paper Hanging, suitable for pariors, halls, dining rooms, chambers, &c. Paper Hanging done at a moment's notice. Upholstering done in all its branches.

N.B. Prices low, terms cash, and one price asked.

April 29.—4f

TO THE LADIES.—THOMAS H. STAMFORD, southeast corner of Suratoga and Green streets, Bultimore, keeps constantly on hand, and makes to order, the most fashionable Ladies, Misses, and Children's Shoes, of every description and material, and of the best quality, at the following low charges, reduced from his former prices. He sells tothing but his own make; consequently, he is prepared to warrant what he sells to be good.

Thick Soles.—Gaiters, \$2 to \$2.25; Half Gaiters, \$1.50 to \$1.75; F. Boots, \$1.25; Jefforson's and Ties, \$1.12 \cdot 2.

This Soles.—Tip and Ties, 70 cents to \$1, White Satin, \$1.37; Black Satin, \$1.25; Clash, \$1.

Misses and Children's in proportion. Satin Shoes made for \$1, when the ladies furnish the eatin.

FNGRAVING.

J. opposite the Eutaw Engraver, No. 8 Eutaw street, opposite the Eutaw House, Editioner.—Drawings of Bulldings, Machinery, Specifications for the Patent Office, &c. Scala, Steel Letters, and all kinds of Wood and Copperplate Engraving, executed at the shortest notice. Patterns for Castings made. Brands and Stenolis cut to order.

Drawing School.—Instruction given in the art of Drawing.

April 99. ENGRAVING.

HE Proprietors of the Guy street Chair Ware Ros

would inform their friends and the sublic generally, that they have now on hand a very splendid assortment of Parlor and other Chairs, comprising mahogany, maple, valuet, and a variety of imitation wood colors. They would request persons disposed to purchase to give them a call, as their assortment is not surpassed, if equalled, by any establishment in the city. They would also inform shipping merchants, that they have also on hand Shipping Chairs of all kinds; also, Bronze, Split Cane, Cane Seats, Tops, Chair Stuff, tee; all which they are willing to sell ou most ascenmodating terms. Baltimore, April 22.

CHARLES PHILLIPS, Bellhanger, Locksmith, and Smith its General, may be found at the ald stand, No. 113 Front street, opposite the Stone Tavern, Ealismore. Belle put up in the country at the shortest notice, and on the most

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

CENTRAL AGENCY for the sale of Anti-Slavery Publications, No. 61 Join street, New York.—The subscriver, as Agent of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, would inform the friends of the cause that he has made arrangements with the publishers of standard works on American Slavery, whereby he will be enabled to keep on hand, for sale at wholesale and retail, a full supply of the Anti-Slavery literature of this country. There can be no doubt, that if the Taurus, as it has been set forth by the advocates of emancipation, can be brought before the minds of our fellow-citizens, the most satisfactory before the minds of our fellow-citizens, the most satisfactory before the minds of our fellow-citizens, the most satisfactory results will be produced; and it is enseatly hoped that the facilities afforded by the establishment of this new Anti-Slavery Depository will be suitably appreciated and improved.

It is not deemed best to comprise in this advertisement a complete estatogue of the Books, Pamphlets, Tracts, Engravings, &c., now on hand. It may, however, be well to say, that among a large assortment of Publication may be found at the following:

Letters addressed to Professor Stowe and Dr. Bacon, by Rev. A. A. Phelps; Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy; Shavery Examined in the Light of the Bible, by Dr. Brisbane; Memoir of the Martyr, Charles T. Torrey; Slavery Condemned by Christianity, by Dr. Thompson, of Edinburgh; Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery, by Rev. A. Barnes; Volces of Freedom, by Whittler, fourth and complete edition; Groavenor's Review of Fuller and Wayland's Discussion; Home, written in prison, by Charles T. Torrey Narratives of Lewis and Milton Clarks, Frederick Bouglass, and William Brown; Memoirs of Archy Moore; Sumner's Lecture on White Slavery in the Barbary States; S. P. Chase's Argument; Condensed Bible Argument, by a Virginian; Facts for the People, by Loring Moody; Picture of Slavery, for Youth, by Jorathan Walker; the Church as it is,

FANCY PAINTING, ETC. FANCY PAINTING, ETC.

WINDOW SHADES.—CHOKER FAVAUX has removed his Painting Rooms to the southeast corner of South and Baltimore streets, Baltimore, where he will continue to receive orders for painting the fashionable Transparent Window Shades, which have had so much preference to any other Blind since their introduction into this country from Europe. In addition to the Window Shades, he will also continue the Decoration of Stores and Halls. Signs lettered, Banners and Flags for Military and Fire Companies, &c. He respectfully solicits a share of patronage from those who may be desirons of obtaining any article in his line. We have a stock of Window Shades, of the latest style, from \$1 to \$25 per pair.

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF SLAVERY. BY LYSANDER SPOONER. Parts let and 2d. Published by Bela Marsh, 25 Corubill, Boston; and for sale, at the publisher's prices, at the Depository of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, New York. Price, 25 cents each part, or 50 cents bound together.

WILLIAM HARNED, Agent, August 10.—lam 61 John street.

THE CHEAPEST ANTI-SLAVERY TRACT YET PUBLISHED.

THE ADDRESS OF THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN LIBERTY CONVENTION, held at Cincinnati,
June 1 th and 12th, 1845, to the People of the United States:
with notes, by a citizen of Pennsylvania. A pamphlet, containing 15 closely printed octavo pages of facts and statistics,
showing the effects of Southern Slavery on the interests of
this country; on fine paper and handsome type, and sold at
the exceedingly low rate of ten dollars per thousand, or one
dollar per hundred!

Orders, post paid, enclosing the money, and addressed to
the subscriber, will be promptly executed; the order should
state distinctly by what mode of conveyance they are to be
sent.

WILLIAM HARNED,
Black 15, 19 or 19 or

61 John street, New York. March 30. TEMPERANCE HOUSE. CROTON HOTEL—On strict Temperance principles, No. 142 and 144 Broadway, New York; by May 6.—tf J. LELAND MOORE.

NO FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. NO FELLOWSHIP WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

A SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENT in favor of withdrawing fellowship from Churches and Ecclesiastical Bodies tolerating Slaveholding among them, by Rev. Silas McKeen, of Bradford, Vermont, is the title of a tract of 40 pages, just published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at their Depository in New York. Price—\$2.50 a hundred; single copy, 3 cents.

WILLIAM HARNED, Agent, 61 John street, New York.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE. The Publishers of the Living Age anuex a Prospectus of that work, and solicit to it the attention of the readers of the National Era. Those who wish to accomplish much in their generation must take a large view of what is passing around them-they must look over the whole of the age they

live in. This work is conducted in the spirit of Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature, (which was favorably received by the public for twenty years,) but as it is twice as large and models procured when desired—on reasonable terms. Letters of inquiry, expected to be answered after examinations had, must be accompanied by a fee of five dollars. In the duties of their office which pertain to the Patent Laws, Mesrs. J. & R. will be assisted by a legal gentleman of the highest professional character, and fully conversant with Mechanics and other scientific subjects.

Wushington, D. C., June 1, 1848.

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to by many things which were excluded by a month's delay, but, while fluss extending our scope and gathering a greater and substantial part of our literary, historical, and political harvest, as fully to satisfy the wants of the Admir & Mestarding the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the State of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding our scope and gathering a greater and substantial part of our literary, historical, and political harvest, as fully to satisfy the wants of the Admir & Mestarding the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the Control of the Edinburg & Mestarding the Control of the E The elaborate and stately Essays of the Edinbu gh, Quar-terly, and other Reviews; and Blackwood's noble criticisms on Poetry, his keen political Commentaries, highly wrongh tales, and vivid descriptions of rural and mountain scenery; and the contributions to Literature, History, and Common Life, by the sagacions Spectator, the sparkling Examiner the judicious Athenaum, the busy and industrious Literary Gazette, the sensible and comprehensive Britannia, the so-

ber and respectable Christian Observer—these are inter-mixed with the Military and Naval reminiscences of the United Service, and with the best articles of the Dublin University, New Monthly, Fraser's, Tait's, Ainsworth's, Hood's, and Sporting Magazines, and of Chambers's admirable Journal. We do not consider it beneath our dignity to borrow wit and wisdom from Punch : and, when we think it good enough, make use of the thunder of The Times. We shall increase our variety by importations from the continent of Europe, and from the new growth of the British col The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa, into our neighborhood, ond will greatly multiply our conne as merchants, travellers, and politicians, with all parts of the world; so that much more than ever it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the condition and

changes of foreign countries. And this not only because of their nearer connection with ourselves, but because the na-tions seem to be hastening, through a rapid process of change, to some new state of things, which the merely politics prophet cannot compute or foresee.

Geographical Discoveries, the progress of Colonisation, (which is extending over the whole world,) and Voyages and Travels, will be favorite matter for our selections; and, in general, we shall systematically and very fully acquaint our readers with the great department of Foreign affairs, with

out entirely neglecting our own.

While we aspire to make the Living Age desirable to all who wish to keep themselves informed of the rapid progress of the movement—to Statesmen, Divines, Lawyers, and Physicians—to men of business and men of leisure—it is still a stronger object to make it attractive and useful to their wives and children. We believe that we can thus do some good in our day and generation; and hope to make the work pensable, because in this day of cheap literature it is not possible to guard against the influx of what is bad in taste and vicious in morals, in any other way than by furnishing a sufficient supply of a healthy character. The mental and moral appetite must be gratified.

We hope that, by "by winnowing the wheat from the

chaff," by providing abundantly for the imagination, and by a large collection of Biography, Voyages and Travels, History, and more solid matter, we may produce a work which shall be popular, while at the same time it will aspire to raise the standard of public taste. TERMS.

The Living Agais published every Saturday, by E. Littell & Co., corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets, Boston; Price, twelve and a half cents a number, or six dollars a year, eived and promptly attended to To insure regularity in mailing the work, orders should be addressed to the office of publication, as above. Clubs, paying a year in advance, will be supplied as fol-

Four copies for \$20
Nine copies for 48
Twelve copies for 50
Complete sets, in fifteen volumes, to the end of 1847, hand omely bound, and packed in neat boxes, are for sale at thirt;

Any volume may be had separately at two dollars, bound, Any roams may be had separated, or a dollar and a half in numbers.

Any number may be had for twelve and a half cents; and it may be worth while for subscribers or purchasers to complete any broken volumes they may have, and thus greatly

enhance their value. AGENCIES. We are desirons of making arrangements, in all parts of North America, for increasing the circulation of this work; and for doing this, a liberal commission will be allowed to gentlemen who will interest themselves in the business. And we will gladly correspond on this subject with any agent who will send us undoubted references.

doorga at none POSTAGE. When sent with the cover on, the Living Age consists of three sheets, and is rated as a pamphlet, at four and a half cents. But when sent without the cover, it comes within the definition of a newspaper given in the law, and cannot legally be charged with more than newspaper postage, one and a half cents. We add the definition alluded to:

A newspaper is "any printed publication, issued in num-bers, consisting of not more than two sheets, and published at short stated intervals of not more than one month, convey-

ing intelligence of passing events." For such as prefer it in that form, the Living Age is put up in Monthly Parts, containing four or five weekly numbers. In this shape it shows to great advantage in comparison

with other works, containing in each part double the matter of any of the Quarterlies. But we recommend the weekly numbers, as fresher and fuller of life. Postage on the Monthly part is about fourteen cents. The volumes are published quarterly, each volume containing as much matter as a Quarterly Review gives in eighteen menths. Published at six dollars a year, by

E. LITTELL & CO., Baston

LAW OFFICE, SYRACUSE, N. Y. Office, Syramuse, New York.
Office, Standard Buildings.
ISRAKI. S. SPENCER.
JOHN W. MORTH